



Daily Report

East Europe

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S. Plaka on Readiness To Improve Superpower Ties

AU2202083090 *Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian*
18 Feb 90 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Albania Improving its Relations With the Superpowers"]

[Text] Tirana, 17 Feb—Albania is seriously considering the possibility of cooperating with the EEC and participating in joint talks on European security, Albanian deputy minister of foreign affairs said in Tirana yesterday.

In an interview with the news agency REUTER, Sokrat Plaka also ruled out the possibility of conflicts in Albania similar to those that have broken out in many East European countries. He said that Albania does not fall into this category, and dissociated itself from such forms of socialism 30 years ago.

Assessing European developments, the Albanian minister said that a "disturbance of equilibrium" has been evident. "We still do not know what the new equilibrium will look like, but we consider it positive that tension has been reduced in Europe," he said.

Sokrat Plaka foresaw the possibility of Albania's taking part in future talks on European security and cooperation. Although Albania was the only European country not to take part in the proceedings of the 1975 Helsinki Conference, Sokrat Plaka now positively assesses some of its achievements.

We welcome the efforts of European peoples to strengthen security and cooperation, he said. "We consider that some of the Helsinki decisions were important, such as that on the inviolability of borders. We did not take part in the conference because of its bloc character, but we are not against the idea of a European summit, a 'Helsinki-2'," Sokrat Plaka said.

Asked about possible future cooperation with the EC, Sokrat Plaka said that Albania "does not rule out such a possibility," but is "seriously analyzing and studying it." "We will not sacrifice cooperation with the EC, and we do not underestimate the opportunities this large market offers," Sokrat Plaka said, adding that 1992 will change all relationships in Europe.

The Albanian minister even foresaw the possibility of improving relations with Moscow and Washington. "We are not indifferent when it is a question of the attitudes of these two countries toward Albania. We will have

relations with any country that responds with friendship to our offers of friendship," Sokrat Plaka said.

'Tentative Thaw,' 'Opening Up' in Regime Noted

AU2202085190 *Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE*
in Polish 16-18 Feb 90 p 5

[Piotr Jen commentary: "Albania—A Tentative Thaw"]

[Text] The only country with real socialism in today's Europe is undoubtedly drawing lessons from the events of the "autumn of the nations." Albania is opening up slowly, but quite successfully. After years of complete isolation, this is a revolution in itself. There are regular Swissair and Air France flights. Some tourist groups have been allowed to visit, but television crews only get permission to enter after several years of trying. Lately, more journalists have applied to visit Albania and actually received visas, because the Albanian authorities wanted to refute claims about local disturbances and protests during the Romanian revolution. Albania has a lot more in common with Romania than would at first glance appear. A similar patriotic and national ideology has allowed and continues to allow the leadership to keep Albanian society in a state of suspicion against the outside world that surrounds it.

One has to admit, however, that the leader of Albania, Ramiz Alia, has not officially made use of the disturbances and struggles of the Albanians living in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo to score political goals or attack Yugoslavia. Albania broke off diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia in 1948. The attacks are coming from the widow of former leader Enver Hoxha, who died almost five years ago. The party conservatives are grouped around Hoxha's widow. The growing dissonance in the Albanian Communist Party is increasing in proportion to Alia's attempts to draw lessons from the events that have occurred in East Europe and to initiate cooperation with several West European countries in order to raise the 3.1 million Albanians' standard of living. Albania's isolation will be a limiting factor of any dreams of initiating economic cooperation, but this isolation also allows the almost Stalinist-style regime to stay in power. There are, however, small signs of a tentative thaw. For some time now an Italian news program—translated into Albanian—has been regularly transmitted. Last year, Albania welcomed Mother Theresa, whose parents were Albanian. This would not have been an event of any importance were it not for the fact that in 1967 Albania closed down all religious institutions in the name of communist atheism. This process was accomplished relatively smoothly owing to the fact that in Albania, Islam was only very superficial.

It would be difficult to find the beginnings of forces comparable to "Solidarity," or for a religious or a politically organized opposition that could push for further fundamental political change—at least for the moment. A potentially explosive element is the large number of political prisoners. According to various claims, their numbers are 4,000-20,000 people. If true, these numbers would set a kind of record. Not so long ago, however, some prisoners who were being kept in special work camps were released, and this signifies that the present regime feels quite confident.

Stefani on Prisons, 'Educational' Penal Aims

AU2202103490 Tirana ATA in English 0736 GMT
22 Feb 90

["The Truth on Convicts in Albania—Interview of the Minister of Domestic Affairs Simon Stefani, Granted to the Editor of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 21 (ATA)—Follows the interview of the minister of domestic affairs, Simon Stefani, granted to the editor of the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT, which is issued today.

Question: Some foreign agencies, with ill-will intentions, have frequently reported that there are thousands of prisoners in the jails in our country. Sometimes it is spoken of 20,000, sometimes of 30,000, even of 40,000 prisoners.

What's the truth, Comrade Minister, with regard to this matter?

Answer: It is not the first time that certain circles premeditatedly have striven and strive to present in a distorted way the situation in Albania through mass media. In this context are included the slanders that allegedly there is a very enormous toll of prisoners in our country. Whereas the reality shows quite the opposite. Currently, in the penal settlements and in the re-education stations there are only 3,850 prisoners in the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, convicted of all kinds of crimes, ordinary and political ones. In this toll, the convicts for activity to overthrow the people's power through violence account for 83 people altogether. Meanwhile, there is no person sentenced for religious activity and convictions, as charges are often brought against our country.

I would also like to stress that there are very few cases under penalty of death for grave crimes foreseen in the penal legislation. Hence, for instance, in the last decade, 1980-1990, there have been passed only four death penalties for political crimes. Whereas for ordinary crimes, which pose a great danger to the society, three to four persons a year are under sentence of death.

Question: The foreign propaganda also speaks of the fact that in Albania there are allegedly thousands of prisoners

from Greek minority. Can you tell, Comrade Minister, how many people of minority are undergoing punishment at present?

Answer: I must also stress that the fantasy of anti-Albanian propagandists regarding this is doing its best. In our country the people of minority enjoy all rights guaranteed by Constitution. They are equal before the law just as all the Albanian citizens and are discriminated in no direction. This is the answer as far as your question is concerned: The toll of prisoners from minority who are undergoing punishment is 35 persons altogether, out of whom no-one has been sentenced for grave political crimes.

Question: In the chain of slanders, there are also slanders on the ill treatment of prisoners in the convict stations where they serve sentences. Can you say something on this?

Answer: Penal sentence in Albania has a marked educational character. It has lofty human character. In order to attain this aim, the law clearly defines the norms and rules that guarantee real possibilities to the convicts to be re-educated and become worthy citizens for society. Besides others, while the convicts undergo punishment, they are granted permission to go home in case of misfortunes, the imprisonment term is reduced for those who fulfil and overfulfil the tasks at work, those prisoners who work and behave well are released by decision of the Presidium of the People's Assembly having not yet undergone full punishment, without mentioning here from time to time amnesties.

As a result of the sound political situation and economic stability that prevail in our country, delinquency in our country has kept reducing.

Balkan Delegations Attend Tirana Energy Meeting

AU1602162290 Tirana ATA in English 0948 GMT
16 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Tirana, February 15 (ATA)—The preparatory meeting of the experts of the Balkan countries in the field of energy began its proceedings in one of the halls of Tirana Hotel on February 15 before noon.

Attending were the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by Dimiter Sokolov, deputy-minister of the Committee of Energy; the delegation of the Greek Republic, headed by Ioannis Dhalezioz, director of energy policy at the Ministry of Industry, Energy, and Technology; the delegation of Romania, headed by Cimpeanu Tiberiu, deputy minister of electrical energy; the delegation of the Republic of Turkey, headed by Sami Yavuz, undersecretary at the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources; the delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, headed by Sretan Spasic, assistant secretary for energy; and the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania,

headed by Lavdosh Hametaj, deputy minister of Industry, Mining, and Energy.

Present was also Sokrat Plaka, deputy foreign minister of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania.

Attending were also heads and officials of the diplomatic representations of the Balkan states accredited in our country.

The meeting was declared open by the head of the Albanian delegation, the deputy minister of industry, mining, and energy, Lavdosh Hametaj. After thanking all the delegations for the contribution they rendered during the consultations on the identification of problems and the possible directions of the multi-lateral cooperation in the field of energy, he expressed his confidence that it is the common desire that this meeting be crowned with success, to ensure a valuable exchange of views, and render its contribution to organize as well as possible the coming meeting of ministers.

The participants elected the deputy minister of industry, mining, and energy of the host country, Lavdosh Hametaj, chairman of the meeting and approved the agenda. [passage omitted]

Bekteshi Receives Delegations

*AU1602162890 Tirana ATA in English 0926 GMT
16 Feb 90*

[Text] Tirana, February 15 (ATA)—Besnik Bekteshi, minister of industry, mining, and energy of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania received on February 15 afternoon, the heads of the delegations participating in the preparatory meeting of the experts of the Balkan countries in the field of energy.

Attending was also Petraq Pojani, coordinator for the multilateral Balkan cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the heads of the diplomatic representations of the Balkan countries accredited in Albania.

After wishing them welcome in our country and successes in the holding the meeting, which contributes to the better organization of the meeting of the ministers of energy, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi stressed that the Albanian Government appreciates the process of the Balkan cooperation as a realistic and valuable activity for the peoples and countries of our region which contributes to the mutual understanding and benefit and is in the interest of peace and stability not only in the Balkans, but beyond. He spoke on the economic cooperation as a very important aspect in the Balkan process, the special attention devoted to the development of energy, industry, oil, gas, coal, and electrical energy in our country and the trade relations and cooperation existing between Albania and the other countries of the region, including problems of interest in the field of energy, too. Comrade Besnik Bekteshi stressed the need of further developing the multilateral relations and wished that cooperation between our countries in all the fields forge ever more ahead and be materialized more and more.

The reception passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 10-16 Feb

AU1702173790

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 10-16 February reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Rita Marko, Pali Miska, and Besnik Bekteshi, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee Politburo members; and Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, attended a meeting in Korce on the 45th anniversary of the Albanian Trade Unions, on 11 February. (1900 GMT 11 Feb 90)

Pirro Kondi and Llambi Gegprifti, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members, attended a Tirana event to mark the 70th anniversary of being the capital of Albania, on 10 February. (1900 GMT 10 Feb 90)

Mladenov on Consultations With Political Leaders

*AU2202211590 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 22 Feb 90*

["Text" of State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov's statement on political consultations with leaders of political parties and movements, conducted on 20 and 21 February—read by an announcer]

[Text] Dear listeners, we received a statement from State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov. I shall read its full text:

The political consultations, which ended late last night, were a unique and unprecedented political event in our country. The idea to hold such consultations developed during the process of seeking various forms of dialogue, aimed at bringing closer the positions of the various political forces on the most acute national problems. Therefore, it was not by accident that three basic themes were at the center of the consultations: the present complex political and economic situation, the roads leading out of this situation, and further developing the democratization process.

I would like to express my gratitude to the leaders of the country's basic political and social forces for the readiness with which they responded to this initiative, and more importantly, for the responsible and fundamental discussion of the serious problems, the constructive spirit, and the many new and interesting ideas that were presented.

Despite the fact that the consultations were not aimed at resolving specific problems, they undoubtedly played a positive role in strengthening confidence and partnership in the efforts to find the necessary solutions that have fateful importance for the Bulgarian nation.

A frank discussion of the entire complex of issues that determine the character and contents of the present critical stage of our development took place during the consultations. Specific needs that are related to resolving the socioeconomic crisis, the sociopolitical system, and the democratization of the state structures and mechanisms were reviewed. Many specific issues, such as the legal order, legislature, the roundtable, the role of the trade unions and women and youth organizations, the nationality issue, social justice, and the guarantees of the working people's future after the forthcoming elections, were at the center of the consultations.

The consultations' participants frankly expressed their views on this spectrum of issues. Differences in positions clearly emerged. Those differences reflect the true diversity and disparity in the interests of the various social forces and strata that stand behind the dialogue's participants. Such differences emerged on the issues of the roundtable, the elections, and various aspects of the government's policy. I think that this is totally normal for a democratic and pluralistic society, as we would like it to be.

I think that the consultations demonstrated another very important fact; namely, the similar or identical opinions of the participants in connection with certain most important priorities in the country's current development. In my opinion, this is a guarantee of successfully restructuring our society.

The consultations' participants were unanimous about the fact that the scope of the problems makes it impossible to resolve them only by the forces of a single party or social stratum. We need the joint efforts of all parties and all people so that the country can overcome the crisis and so that worthy living conditions for the millions of Bulgarian citizens are created. The participants in the consultations pointed out that it is high time that the sociopolitical forces begin to discuss the acute problems of healing the economy, resolving legislative problems, and determining other measures that will serve as the foundation of democratic transformations. They declared their support for raising the political culture of the dialogue, demonstrating greater tolerance and civilized behavior in the disputes and political struggle, supremacy of reason and responsibility over emotions and passions, and developing a constructive approach and cooperation in seeking appropriate ways and solutions.

The participants expressed their conviction that the peaceful transition toward a civic society has no sensible alternative, and that the political forces' competition, which is natural for this kind of society, must take place within the framework of the law and under strict public control, because any development in another direction would be tragic for our people.

The consultations' participants expressed the categorical opinion that the country has no other future than the road of democratization with the active participation of all people's forces.

If I had to summarize the common opinions that emerged on those most important, strategic, so to speak, directions, I would put it in the following way: The consultations demonstrated an awareness of the responsibility for our people's future, seeking a way out of the crisis, and recognizing the necessity of placing nationwide interests above the opportunistic party benefits. This conclusion is a real one, and it inspires optimism.

I also would like to note some of the new ideas imparted by the participants in the meetings and consultations. For example, they proposed to hold parallel bilateral meetings of leaders of parties and movements; organizing a general meeting of the leaders of the political forces, with the participation of the State Council chairman; various ways of resolving important social and economic problems; creating new and united national formations; asserting a new businesslike and constructive style of political language and relations; and different guarantees of equal conditions and possibilities for participating in the democratic political process. All

those ideas were prompted not by motives of confrontation, but by a desire to achieve unity and understanding.

The meetings and consultations asserted a new dynamic element in the political atmosphere, also from a purely human-psychological point of view. Personal contacts were established—some for the first time—and an opportunity was utilized to specify the positions and view in a new light both certain nuances and disagreements, as well as possible points of contacts. This undoubtedly imposes on all of us, participants in the consultations, to cleanse ourselves of various accumulations and overcome the conflicting emotions and approaches, to advance toward a new and broad road of communicating as people, citizens, and patriots.

The consultations' results give grounds to think about turning them into a lasting element in the country's political life. Of course, by this I do not mean to underestimate the other existing forms of political cooperation, including the national roundtable. The round of consultations that just ended was aimed at creating, along with everything else, favorable conditions for full-fledged progress at this very important political forum, whose role in the domestic development will certainly increase. If it appears necessary, I intend to prepare my meetings with the political and public figures precisely in this spirit and with this understanding.

I would also like to add that as a head of state I find it necessary to consult with all sociopolitical organizations and groups, without any exception, with which we are united in the striving to improve our country's progress and prosperity. It is in this area that I see one of my tasks in the near future.

Zhelev Denies Withdrawal From Roundtable

AU2302103090 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 21 Feb 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Are the Roundtable's Feet To Be Shortened?"]

[Excerpt] Sofia 20 February—"I am perfectly healthy and I do not need to go anywhere for treatment," Zhelyu Zhelev stated in reaction to yesterday's RABOTNICHESKO DELO report entitled: "The Roundtable's Feet Are To Be Shortened."

Professor Zhelev described this report as a provocation, even though it was placed under the rubric "Unconfirmed Rumors." He expressed surprise at such rumors and described them as dishonorable tactics in the election campaign that the Communist Party has already embarked on despite the fact that the date of the elections has not yet been established and also as part of the policy of discrediting the representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF].

Doctor Zhelev informed the RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter that he has already declined six invitations from the West to participate in various symposia,

roundtables, and other such events because of the intensive development of certain processes which makes the UDF leadership's "attendance absolutely necessary." Zhelyu Zhelev pointed out: "If I travel at all, then my next trip would be to West Germany as part of a group of seven people who are invited by Hans-Dietrich Genscher to spend five days in the FRG." Zhelev, however, added that he is not sure whether he could join the delegation because of the UDF being very busy at the moment, considering the forthcoming roundtable talks, and other engagements.

Are there any reasons for Professor Zhelev's bewilderment and concern? According to a sociological poll among 195 Sofia intellectuals he was named as the most popular participant in the roundtable by 31 percent of those polled, while 36 percent of them expressed their preference for the UDF delegation among all the other delegations participating in the roundtable talks. (from the daily DEMOKRATIYA issue No. 7, 20 February, page 2).

Commission Investigating Zhivkov Issues Report

AU2102195790 Sofia BTA in English 1928 GMT
21 Feb 90

["T. Zhivkov Has the Right to Lawyer During Inquest"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—Todor Zhivkov can have a counsel for the defense, announced today the parliamentary commission investigating the abuses and breaches of law committed during the totalitarian regime.

At its recent session the commission discussed the information delivered by the chief prosecutor concerning the legal proceedings initiated against Todor Zhivkov. Investigations are carried out in three major directions the policy of inciting national hostility and hatred, power abuse and malpractice, misusing public funds.

The commission recommended that Todor Zhivkov should be examined by a new medical team with the participation of Bulgarian and foreign specialists to get a most competent and unbiased medical report on his health and keep him in good fitness.

The commission proposed to the chief prosecutor to inform the public about the findings of the inquest which is being held in compliance with the prescriptions of the law.

A report was presented at the session about the results of the checkup of the expenses the Bulgarian Olympic Committee (BOC) incurred for the preparation of Bulgaria for the Winter Olympic Games in 1992-1994 which the country wanted to host. At that time Todor Zhivkov's former son-in-law, Ivan Slavkov, was chairman of BOC. The commission decided that the

findings of the checkup carried out by the Ministry of Finance should be submitted to the Chief Prosecutor's Office.

At the session, the first after Rumen Serbezov was elected chairman of the commission, concern was expressed that the commission works too slow. It was decided that it should hold sessions every week, the agenda being approved in advance depending on the materials received. The public will be kept informed about the results of the sessions.

Zhivkov Refuses Defense Council

*AU2202192890 Sofia BTA in English 1649 GMT
22 Feb 90*

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—When, acting on the recommendation of the National Assembly Commission of Inquiry Into the Ousted Regime's Abuses, the public prosecutor offered Todor Zhivkov defense counsel at this stage of the investigation, Zhivkov said, "I am not yet ready on this matter. I would like the investigative proceedings against me to go on without a defense lawyer."

This exchange is quoted in an announcement of the Prosecutor General's Office which says that, for the time being, the investigators do not have problems with Zhivkov's state of health. He is kept under constant medical observation. Nevertheless, the Prosecutor General's Office has accepted the recommendation of the parliamentary panel to order another expert medical examination with the participation of foreign specialists to certify his health condition.

Zhivkov's close aide Milko Balev and the former leader's son-in-law Ivan Slavkov are held in the remand prison of the Criminal Investigation Department. Enough incriminating evidence has been collected against them to warrant their detention on remand, the Prosecutor General's Office says in its announcement.

The prosecutor general has not yet received replies to his legal assistance requests addressed to the Prosecutor General's Offices of five West European states and asking them to inquire whether there are any foreign currency assets and valuables deposited on accounts with banks in those countries and belonging to Todor Zhivkov, Milko Balev, Ivan Slavkov or members of their families.

A wide range of new matters have been discovered in the course of the investigation against Todor Zhivkov and have been included in it. The investigators will have to find out whether some decisions, made directly by the former BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] leader or under pressure from him, on the design and construction of major projects and the redevelopment of population places, on the conclusion of economic agreements with other countries, and on economic reorganizations, have caused particularly serious damage to the country.

An exceedingly large amount of investigative work has been and will be done. A number of audits and inspections have been ordered in cultural, economic and trade organizations, along with value appraisals of weekend houses, possessions and collections. These procedures are going on and the need for further audits and expert examinations arises in the course of the investigation. A number of witnesses have been questioned, and their number is expected to reach several hundred, the announcement says.

The Prosecutor General's Office announces that inquiries and audits are going on to find out and collect evidence on alleged abuses by other former high-ranking officials.

Mladenov Leads in Paper's 'Confidence' Poll

*AU2002135190 Sofia BTA in English 1220 GMT
20 Feb 90*

["Petur Mladenov: Greatest Confidence"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, State Council president heads the list of confidence in leaders and personalities according to sociological study carried early this month. The results are run by today's OTECHESTVEN FRONT. They represent the population aged above 18. The polled are 1,383 people. In order to assess the degree of confidence of the population in the leaders and personalities the polled were asked three questions: who of the listed 35 leaders and personalities are worthy to become MPs at the National Assembly, to become members of a future government, to be elected head of state. The rating of confidence is based on these three questions. Runner-up is Andrey Lukanov, the present prime minister, followed by Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defence.

Among the first ten people there are 8 representatives of the BCP (Bulgarian Communist Party), 1 of the Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS) (Zhelyu Zhelev, 5th place) and one non-party man (Blagovest Sendov, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 8th place). Further grading however includes much more often representatives of the other parties. Svetla Daskalova and Angel Dimitrov from the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), Aleksandur Karakachanov, the Green Party, Elka Konstantinova the Radical Democratic Party, Petur Dertliev, Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party. There are prognoses that in the next months, until the National Assembly elections, these trends will increase.

Petur Mladenov, Andrey Lukanov and Dobri Dzhurov hold the first three places in the gradings of all age groups. The SDS leader Zhelyu Zhelev is fifth in the poll of the middle aged people, 4th in the grading of young people and 10th in that of the older generation.

74.6 per cent of the polled stood for direct election of the head of state while only 19.6 per cent for election by voting of the MPs.

Two thirds of the polled think that it is best to carry elections of a new National Assembly in May this year, 24.4 per cent think that elections should take place in November this year and only 3.5 per cent, believe that they should be held in 1991.

The outlined shifting of priorities for solving of vital social problems is among the more general conclusions in the analysis of data from the research: ecological protection of the population and medical services come to the forefront ahead of such unsolved issues like residential provision and labor conditions.

The research is indicative of the grown confidence in the state institutions. The header is the Bulgarian National Army, whose rating has grown by almost 20 points compared to the beginning of January. Only the rating of confidence in the BCP remains unchanged. The confidence in the local people's councils and local BCP committees is rather low. Agricultural population, in general, has higher confidence in the institutions than civic population.

Daily Denounces TV Interview With Former King

AU2002134690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 13 Feb 90 p 1

[Editorial: "Why We Are Not a Monarchy"]

[Text] On Sunday, 11 February, Bulgarian Television's "Every Sunday" program carried an interview with Simeon Coburg-Gotha, former king of Bulgaria. Unfortunately, the interview was not accompanied by the necessary historical information about the end of the Bulgarian monarchy. The impression was created that Simeon left our country almost as a result of an act of violence, without any legal grounds, and by the will of the Communists. Many viewers were confused. This impression does not correspond to the truth, and the matter should be clarified.

The end of the monarchy in our country was the result of a nationwide referendum, which took place on 8 September 1946 and in which all the country's political forces took part. The Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, and the oppositional parties of Nikola Petkov, Kosta Lulchev, Aleksandur Gerginov, and others unanimously voted for a "pure and holy republic." This result, which unanimously confirmed the Bulgarian nation's democratism, stunned the monarchic remnants in Bulgaria after 9 September. This was a rare and instructive example of total national consensus of leading and opposition parties, prompted by the people's supreme interests.

Let us support our words with the referendum's specific results and statements by the main political leaders of that period. We also publish three cartoons by our noted cartoonists, Boris Angelushev (nonparty member), Iliya Beshkov (agrarian), and Aleksandur Zhendov (Communist), which eloquently reflect the Bulgarian people's feelings during the referendum.

At a time, when we rather tactlessly recall that Bulgaria had a king, let us also recall the categorical vote of the people which threw the monarchy off the pages of our national history. This was not an antidemocratic act, but a historical fact, which nobody has the right to exploit or underestimate in the name of political sensations.

[The editorial is followed by three antimonarchy cartoons by the aforementioned cartoonists; antimonarchy statements of Nikola Petkov, Kosta Lulchev, and Aleksandur Gerginov, dated respectively 17 November 1946, 24 August 1946, and 10 November 1946; and the official results of the 8 September 1946 referendum, according to which 92.72 percent of the voters voted for ending the monarchy and establishing a Bulgarian Republic.]

More on BZNS Administrative Council Session

AU0902082890

[Editorial Report] Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME in Bulgarian on 25 January on pages 1-3 carries: First, a 1,700-word report on the meeting of the Administrative Council of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] held at its Sofia headquarters, the Aleksandur Stamboliyski Building, on 24 January; second, the 400-word "Decision of the BZNS Administrative Council"; and third, the 5,500-word text of the report read to the meeting by Georgi Menov, member of the BZNS Permanent Board and minister of agriculture and forestry, and entitled "Basic Trends for the Activity of the BZNS Regarding the Problems of Agriculture and the Bulgarian Countryside." This last item sets out in detail the BZNS's proposals for renewing agriculture, stimulating cooperative farming, and halting the depopulation of the Bulgarian countryside.

The report on the meeting lists those attending, noting the presence as guests of Milan Drenchev, chairman of the interim leadership of the opposition Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and Yosif Petkov, a member of the foregoing interim leadership, and then gives the agenda, after which Georgi Menov delivered the aforementioned report on "Basic Trends..." The report gives the names of other speakers at the morning session, without describing the content of their speeches, and then briefly describes the afternoon session, which unanimously adopted the report read by Menov and a "resolution" systematizing the proposals made so far at the meeting, which, according to an editorial note, is to be published later. The meeting then discussed the preparations for the 36th Extraordinary BZNS Congress, after which it adopted a decision on the procedure for electing delegates to this conference and on the conference agenda. According to the report, the meeting then approved the BZNS budget, approved a decision "recommending the leadership of the BZNS parliamentary group to create a better organization and conditions for higher efficiency" regarding their work in the National Assembly, and then "repealed the decisions of the Secretariat of the BZNS Permanent Board in 1983 and 1986

on withdrawing political trust in Avram Avramov and Yanko Ganchev, because of the groundlessness of the charges made against them." The report states that the meeting ended with a final speech by BZNS Chairman Angel Dimitrov, on which no details are given.

In the text of the "Decision," the BZNS Administrative Council calls for "the creating without delay of a broadly representative interim government of national consensus, with the participation of the parties represented at the national roundtable." According to the decision, the tasks of this government should be: "1. To undertake radical measures to overcome the economic crisis; 2. To provide favorable conditions for preparing and holding free and democratic elections throughout the country; 3. To speed up the process of opening up Bulgaria to Europe and the world...." In the foreign relations field, the decision states that the Administrative Council favors developing cooperation "with the Soviet Union and the East European countries; with the West European countries, United States, and Canada; with the Balkan countries; and with the developing countries."

Rural Revival Movement Issues Demands

AU1002182190 Sofia BTA in English
1740 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 10 (BTA)—The initiative committee of the National Movement "Revival of the Bulgarian Village" and the initiative committee for setting up of a union of the cooperative agrarians voiced concern that no real initiatives were undertaken for taking of the Bulgarian village and agriculture out of their grave state. Even the new government declaration does not tell of agrarian reforms, reads the resolution of the initiative committees. It insists about decisive measures which should provide investments for the development of the branch and rank it at its due place in this country's economy.

Among the economic demands are fair purchasing prices, changes in the taxation, finance and crediting system and in insurances.

Antifascism Union Elects New Leadership

AU0802141090 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 7 Feb 90 p 6

[Text] At its meeting on 6 February, the Central Council of the Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism Union elected an Executive Bureau composed of the following members: Krum Radonov, chairman; Iliya Mlechkov, first deputy chairman; Stoyan Kutsarov, deputy chairman; Ivan Velchev, secretary; and Kiril Ignatov, Kiril Klisurski, Todor Georgiev, Tani Tanev, and Filyo Khristov, members.

Earthquake Risks at Belene Nuclear Plant Site

AU2202114390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 19 Feb 90 p 2

[Article by geophysicist Iliya Mitev: "Fracture Beneath the Belene Nuclear Power Plant"]

[Text] The Belene Nuclear Power Plant is built on a tectonic joint. This means that the region contains deep faults and fractures in the earth's crust, the liability of which can only partially be investigated. While begging the forgiveness of my fellow geologists for the simplified language I am using (in order to be understood by a wider public), I would like to draw people's attention to the following:

In the event of a more serious earthquake, one comparable with the tremor of 1977 which had its epicenter in Vratsa, the greatest dangers lie in regions with tectonic fractures. No tall buildings should be built in such locations, let alone chemical plants. The construction of a nuclear electric power plant over a tectonic fracture is a crime. Anyone who has seen, even on a photograph, the cracking or heaving of the earth's crust following an earthquake will immediately understand that no technical structures are capable of withstanding such forces of nature. This is reflected in the 12-point scale for measuring earthquakes according to their strength at a given point on the earth's crust. The five highest degrees are as follows:

8. Destructive: heavy damage to buildings, human casualties; bursting of water mains.
9. Devastating: destruction of buildings and roads, appearance of fissures and landslips.
10. Annihilating: almost complete destruction of buildings, formation of deep fissures.
11. Catastrophic: complete destruction of buildings, bridges, and pipelines.
12. Unusually catastrophic: displacements of the earth's crust, deviation of rivers.

In the event of earth tremors, these high degrees of damage may appear primarily in regions with tectonic fractures. In such a region it is difficult for earthquake-resistant structures to withstand even a force eight tremor. Here a reactor might be torn apart or crushed. The nuclear reaction may become uncontrollable and lead to a nuclear explosion. However, even if this does not happen, the radioactive contamination from a destroyed reactor will be immense.

The question arises: Was it not known at the design stage that a tectonic fracture existed there? This may indeed be so. The latest geological map of Bulgaria on which I have seen the tectonic joints marked dates from 1950. Later editions of the map did not show them, for reasons not known to me. For this reason, generations of geologists have perhaps not studied the true tectonic map of Bulgaria.

Special Publication on Political Parties Planned

AU0902115490 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 2 Feb 90 p 7

[Text] The Khristo G. Danov State Publishing House in Plovdiv is preparing a special early release publication under the title: "Political Parties, Social Organizations, and Movements in Bulgaria 1990." All interested parties are urged to submit the necessary materials to the publishers for this purpose. The documents should contain the exact names of the respective parties, organizations, and movements; the dates and places of their new establishment, or restoration; and should include brief biographical data on their leaders (no longer than 30 typed lines) and a summary of the sociopolitical platforms of the respective party, organization, or movement. The publishers declare that the volume shall not include platforms that call for fascism, for national schism, violence, or regression.

The final deadline for sending in the materials is 20 February 1990. The materials should be submitted to the following address: Khristo G. Danov Publishing House, Bulgarian edition, 17 Petko Karavelov Street, Plovdiv. Additional information may be obtained by telephone by dialing the following numbers: 22-52-31, 22-57-63, 22-25-52. the Plovdiv area code is 032.

Readers Sought for New Business Newspaper

AU0902160390

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 8 February on page 2 carries a 300-word advertisement for subscriptions to a newly published newspaper called DELOVI SVYAT ("Business World"), intended for business managers, executives, financial and economic specialists, etc. The advertisement states that "the newspaper will progressively follow the steps of the economic reform along its difficult path in Bulgaria and sets itself the task of presenting the most characteristic features of world economic practice and informing its readers about some of its basic mechanisms, forms, and principles." It adds that "DELOVI SVYAT, though it has existed for barely one month, already has its own stable readership." Potential readers are advised to apply for subscriptions at their regular supplier by the closing date of 15 February.

The final paragraph states: "The current subscription to RABOTNICHESKO DELO is also continued," indicating that DELOVI SVYAT may be connected with the party organ. No indication is given of the frequency of publication, size, or form of the new newspaper.

Radio, TV Committee Proposes Reorganization

AU1602173390 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] At a meeting held today, the Board of the Television and Radio Committee decided to submit a proposal to the Council of Ministers that the board should cease

its activity and that conditions be created for setting up two independent national institutions [instituta]: Bulgarian Radio and Bulgarian Television.

The Board established that it was necessary to resolve certain immediate tasks relating to restructuring the television and radio under the new conditions after 10 November 1989.

From the start of next week, the program councils of the two institutions will be transformed into collective organs for managing creative and production work and will assume the entire responsibility for program planning, production, and broadcasting.

The specially formed operations (?section) of the Program Council of Bulgarian Television will assume the direct supervision of the two television programs.

The entire responsibility for implementing the transmissions will be borne by the editorial councils and editorial collegiums, which are now renewing themselves.

By order of the chairman of the Television and Radio Committee, and by agreement with the interested artistic, creative, and public organizations, individual commissions are also being set up to work on the following issues: on the future statute [statut] of Bulgarian Radio and Television, on the new structure of Bulgarian Television, and on preparing a draft document on the introduction of moral and professional ethics in the two national institutions.

After the approval of the statute of the Bulgarian Television and Radio and the new structure of Bulgarian Television by the Council of Ministers and the National Assembly, respectively, the cadre changes arising from this will be made in accordance with the legislation in force at the time.

Rumors of Explosions in Muslims' Houses Examined

AU2202191190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 21 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] Khaskovo, (Oblast correspondent Vanyo Stoi-lov)—Is there any confirmation of the persistent rumors that preparations are being made now in Khaskovo to blow up houses belonging to Muslims, and that many of our compatriots who returned from Turkey found their houses destroyed?

Keep calm, the explosions only occurred while drains were being installed along Peshtera Street. The issue concerning the citizens' houses in Khisar District is much more complex, and the different sides in the dispute offer different arguments and explanations. The fact is that, according to the local council's information, at the end of the summer and in the autumn last year 281 illegal houses were destroyed of the total of 522 in the district. The land is being cleared for the construction of

a housing complex, for which the plan has been in existence since 1985. This construction is provisionally scheduled to start in 1990.

The viewpoint of the municipal people's council is expressed by its secretary, Dimitur Velev:

"The rights and properties of our compatriots who left for Turkey are guaranteed. The case in question relates to illegally built structures and properties, which we are legally declaring to be the state's property, because they lie outside the town limits. Unfortunately, many violations of the law were committed in the past, and this practice cannot be allowed to continue. In this case the issue is one of town planning, not of ethics. We have in no way contravened the existing laws, and are doing what is possible to provide apartments, but let me not forget to point out that there are 11,000 people on the waiting list for housing in the town."

I will not go into the details of the arguments and counterarguments, in order to avoid the legal "jungle." However, let us hear the view of Medi Doganov, chairman of the Movement for Rights and Liberties:

"We are convinced that the local authorities are looking for a way to justify themselves, rather than seeking a constructive way of solving the housing problem and the problem of employment. We do not see any readiness to take action in the near future. For Khaskovo alone, over 200 prefabricated dwellings are needed to house the homeless."

Turk, Bulgarian Sentenced as Turkish Spies

*AU2002192590 Sofia BTA in English 1856 GMT
20 Feb 90*

["Convictions on Espionage Charges"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—The Shumen District Court today sentenced Yusuf Mutlu [as received], a resident of Istanbul, to 12 years imprisonment and Dr Belchin Perunov of Shumen to 10 years imprisonment on charges of gathering information constituting a state secret for Bulgaria and passing it to the Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MIT).

The sentence is not final and can be appealed at the Supreme Court.

GATT Acts on Bulgarian Membership Application

*AU2002204290 Sofia BTA in English 1943 GMT
20 Feb 90*

[Text] Geneva, February 20 (BTA)—The Council of Representatives of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) today adopted a mandate for the working group on the accession of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to GATT. According to the decision, the accession application will go through the usual procedure. The move takes into consideration some special concerns in connection with the transition to a market-oriented economy.

The council's decision was adopted by consensus, as is the usual practice in GATT. This became possible after the United States withdrew its objections to the Bulgarian application. The U.S. delegate said at the informal consultations on February 19 that his country had reviewed its position expecting that the recent political changes in Bulgaria would open up an opportunity for decisive and comprehensive reforms, through which Bulgaria's economic policy and foreign trade regime would match more adequately the standards of GATT.

The decision actually sets the beginning of work in substance on Bulgaria's accession. At the first stage Bulgaria will have to answer questions on its economic and foreign trade arrangements from all member countries concerned. Negotiations on the terms of accession will start after the matter is discussed in the working group.

Customs Cooperation Protocol With UK Signed

*AU2002182090 Sofia BTA in English 1756 GMT
20 Feb 90*

[Text] Brussels, February 20 (BTA)—During the ninth annual session of the Committee for the Repression of Smuggling, with the Customs Cooperation Council a protocol was signed on the rules and application of the memorandum on cooperation between the customs services of Bulgaria and Britain in combating illicit drug trafficking. The competent circles appreciate the document as a contribution to the work of the customs authorities of the two countries and Europe.

Bulgarian-UK Independent Club Founded

*AU2002201590 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT
22 Feb 90*

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—An initiative committee has announced the establishment of a Bulgaria-Britain Independent Club for the promotion of political, economic and cultural links between the two countries and for the reciprocal diversification of exchanges between the two peoples.

Second Round of Troop Withdrawal Talks Concluded

LD2202184390 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1730 GMT 22 Feb 90

[text] The second round of Czechoslovak-Soviet talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia ended today in Prague. The commission has drawn up and initialled the final text of the intergovernmental agreement on the departure of the troops, which will be signed in the next few days in Moscow.

Officials of the Foreign Ministry noted that they can discuss the content of the agreement only after it has been signed in Moscow. In an interview, however, Deputy Foreign Minister Evzen Vacek noted laconically: Did you notice me smile when the agreement was signed? It is promising, but the final decision must be left to the highest officials.

Withdrawal To Take 18 Months

LD2302085790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
0500 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Ivan Aboimov, head of the Soviet delegation at the talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia and deputy minister of foreign affairs, said after the end of the talks that success has been achieved in finding a solution able to satisfy both sides. He said that the gradual three-stage troop withdrawal will make it possible for appropriate preparations to be made in the Soviet Union. According to Aboimov, on the whole the withdrawal will take approximately 18 months.

Slimak on 26 Feb Pullout, Army Troop Cuts

LD2202205490 Prague CTK in English 1658 GMT
22 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 22 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak People's Army is to be reduced by 20,000 men by the end of this year and by another 40,000 men in the following period, Czechoslovak First Deputy Defence Minister Anton Slimak told journalists here today.

He added that also 850 tanks are to be liquidated by the end of 1990. All this will give the Czechoslovak People's Army parameters corresponding to the 10th place among European armies.

Anton Slimak pointed out the current intensive work on amendments to the Czechoslovak military doctrine which is to be published after the adoption of a new Czechoslovak Constitution on which the document will be based.

He underlined the significance of the current Vienna talks and the principle of "reasonable sufficiency" which is to be the basis of the new Czechoslovak military doctrine.

Dealing in detail with problems concerning the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Czechoslovak territory,

Anton Slimak confirmed that the first units will start their pullout from Northern Moravia on February 26. He pointed out the technical and social problems following for the Soviet side from the withdrawal of 18,500 career soldiers, 5,000 civilians employed in the Army, 39,000 family members, 13,000 children of Army officers and 73,500 soldiers (which is more than stationed in Poland or Hungary) to the Soviet Union. He stressed that the costs linked to the troops withdrawal will be fully covered by the Soviet side while compensation for ecological devastation of the occupied territories will be a subject of an inter-governmental agreement.

"I am convinced that most Soviet soldiers understand the necessity of their pullout. However, there are certainly also those who cannot easily put up with leaving under pressure and not of their own will," Anton Slimak said.

Deputy Foreign Minister Outlines Policy

LD2202170990 Prague CTK in English 1413 GMT
22 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 22 (CTK)—"Our foreign policy wants to be consistently peaceful, to respect the right to self-determination and democratic principles. We want to maintain our traditional friendships and relations, but to open our diplomacy up to contacts with many other countries we did not cooperate with in the past as well," Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Vera Bartoskova, member of the Czechoslovak People's Party Presidium and deputy to the Federal Assembly has told CTK.

"I am responsible for the contacts with all non-European countries except for the USA, Canada and the Soviet Union. This work is not only interesting, but also extremely difficult. "I would like to contribute to the strengthening of our influence on the world development, to the extension of contacts with foreign countries. I am of the opinion that in that part of the world I am in charge of, greater possibilities of deepening contacts exist than for example in Europe where traditional cooperation has been built," she said.

"We want to play the role of a small, but sovereign, independent and democratic country, to take an active part in the all-European movement," Vera Bartoskova said, adding that Czechoslovakia intends to establish diplomatic relations with Chile, South Korea, Saudi Arabia and several other Gulf states, and resumed diplomatic contacts with Israel on February 8.

Military Production Cuts Cause 'Social Tension'

AU2302102390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
19 Feb 90 p 1

[Juraj Kopriva report: "The Federal Government's Social Responsibility"]

[Text] Martin— The social tension originating from the economic consequences of the political decision to radically limit arms production was the main topic of Saturday's [17 February] meeting between Slovak Premier Milan Cic and Heavy Engineering Works Combine representatives in Martin.

Not so long ago, so-called special technology accounted for about one-half of the production and was a decisive component in the profit-making nature of the federally operated combine. In the Martin and Dubnica plants, for example, the proportion was so large that today the very existence or bankruptcy of huge factories with thousands of qualified personnel is being determined. The premier said that even if the combine is under federal government management, both he and the entire Slovak Government feel unequivocal moral and political responsibility for a fair solution to the problem.

The new federal government decided on a much more radical conversion than the one for which they were getting ready in the combine (and which was already begun last year without greater social shocks); at the same, it failed to decide on a fair socioeconomic solution to the consequences of the conversion. The combine, through no fault of its own, is thus getting for the second time into a crisis due to arms production. This happened for the first time in 1973 when, based on the federal government's decision, the enterprises of the then general directorate in Martin had to adjust the production program to the sharp growth of special production.

The conversion in the Heavy Engineering Works in Martin also involves a Slovak national problem. Of its 84,000 workers, 71,000 are employed in Slovak enterprises. The combine was surrendering 4 billion Czechoslovak korunas to the federal budget every year; it kept only 9 to 13 percent of the profit, which was not enough to create the contingency reserve fund that the Martin workers wanted to have to enable them to overcome situations similar to the present one.

Adamec Addresses Party Central Committee

AU2202171390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
19 Feb 90 pp 3, 4

[Report on speech by Ladislav Adamec, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) chairman, at the second CPCZ Central Committee Session" in Prague on 17 February]

[Text] At the start of the Second Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Session, Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ chairman, delivered a speech in which he discussed the current situation in the party and society, a proposal for further action in preparing for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia congress, and the election of deputies to legislative bodies. He said:

We meet after six weeks filled with many important events and tests. We had to come to terms with the

difficult heritage of the past. We seek our new position in society, and prepare ourselves for future tasks. Future months and, perhaps, even years will provide answers to a number of things. But it is possible to answer one question today—through its activity, the party will publicly demonstrate its resolve to erase old mistakes and renew its mission. Certainly, this will be slower than life requires. On the other hand, it will be better than the pessimists feared. We do not want in the least to create false illusions by this evaluation. We are concerned about something else. We want development to prove the correctness of our policy and the topical nature of the starting points set out in the Action Program. In the current situation this is no small matter. This involves ensuring that this positive trend is asserted not only at the level of agreement but, mainly, in our practical activity.

Recently, we have witnessed the rapid collapse of former political structures and the formation of new ones. We often hear critics say that this is due to the indecisive course of action taken by leading CPCZ organs. Is this really the case? The one-sidedness of similar opinions demonstrates parallel development in the other socialist countries. This is in no way a Czechoslovak idiosyncrasy.

The entire traditional form of socialism—as well as the unscientific and unrealistic form founded not on the people's creative initiative but on administrative directives from the center—finds itself in deep crisis. We consider criticism of ideas about the ruling party's omnipotence and omniscience and about the messianic role of the bureaucratic state as an uncontrolled judge over everyone and everything to be absolutely justifiable. We have definitely parted ways with this concept of socialism. We are endeavoring to give it a new and humane concept.

Our Program—Democratic Socialism

There are many questions about the nature of current events. The answer is not simple. First and foremost, because this involves events that are still too fresh, events taking place, and events that are, in many respects, contradictory. Those who speak about democratic revolutions will not be far from the truth. Democratic ideas and human rights have won broad support among the people. They have become a significant force and, in a vital way, are influencing further development. In their substance they are not at variance with socialist principles. The issue of the future grouping of political and economic relations is opening up before us. Our party has programmatically expressed its support for—and, through its political resources, will assert—the synthesis of democratic and social rights based on democratic socialism. The final decision on how development proceeds will be made by citizens. We are convinced that just as they managed to spontaneously act on behalf of human rights and freedoms, they will use these rights and freedoms to defend and expand social

achievements, achievements in which, rightly, they see a self-evident element of their lives.

We are far from placing social guarantees against scientific and technical progress and the necessity for structural changes. Nor do we want to be defenders of the outmoded ideas of egalitarian remuneration and the cult of mediocrity. For fundamental reasons, it is alien to us to replace democratic spirit with apologies for insufficient qualifications and a bad working moral. We are aware of the inappropriateness of the uncritical absolutism of state forms of ownership, direct planning, command management, and monopoly in the manufacturing sphere and elsewhere. It is true that these and other matters have become an ingrained element of dogmatic and bureaucratic ideas about the substance and meaning of socialism. What ensues from this for our party's further course of action? In the interest of preserving the attractive nature of socialist ideals, it is necessary to more resolutely and more thoroughly distance ourselves from all of these distortions. Any kind of conciliation toward the incorrect concepts that led our party into a deep crisis and hundreds of thousands of its members into a politically, morally, and in many instances, an existentially complicated situation would considerably burden or even make impossible the process for the party's revolutionary renewal.

How We View the Roundtable Concept

Voices are often raised about whether our open and critical analysis of the past is a tactic of retreat or capitulation. What am I to say? Certainly, it is possible to imagine another course of action. Examples include apologizing for the inexcusable, searching for individual sacrificial lambs, or putting all the blame on external influences although they naturally played a significant role. This can be done by someone popular, but not quite honorable. Therefore, we will not go along this road. We will defend everything done well in previous years. However, we want to—and we have to—decisively separate ourselves politically, organizationally, and ideologically from past distortions. A stake in demagoguery and calculated arousal of emotions would only lead to an upsurge in political tension and increase the risk of social conflict. As a party that acknowledges co-responsibility for the people's lives under economically and politically stable conditions, we cannot countenance this.

The fundamental line of our policy, a policy oriented toward national understanding, ensues from this. In the roundtable concept we perceive a mechanism for politically resolving current problems by means of a dialogue and compromise. We also support the policy that it should extend from the center to other levels of management. This would make it possible to resolve enterprise or local problems by negotiation and discussion, not by pressure. The reconstruction taking place in national committees must proceed from specific local conditions and from citizens' wishes.

In the interest of alleviating social tension, our party has significantly contributed to ensuring that, by reaching agreement at the roundtable, complicated issues surrounding the reconstruction of legislative organs are resolved. The resignation of the absolute majority of deputies was not dictated by the fact that they had been politically discredited, but by the necessity of projecting the new balance of political forces into their composition.

The roundtable cannot become a one-way street. A constructive approach toward negotiations does not mean giving up one's own opinion or right to make criticism. It provides scope at all levels for our initiative, for our proposals, and for the implementation and defense of the party's justified interests.

In no way do we intend to struggle for the renewal of individuals' lost privileges and unwarranted favors or defend the position of incompetent or corrupt people. However, we do not think it is honorable to remain silent when wrongs are committed against blameless well-qualified employees merely because of their party membership. We are against attempts to force Communists out of managerial functions by any, including illegal, means. Such a stance not only violates civil rights and accepted moral norms, but it leads to the danger that political tension will be whipped up in workplaces and that there will be uncertainty among managers at work, with all the negative consequences for the fulfillment of economic tasks. Therefore, we fully support those demanding that the necessary changes be carried out according to valid regulations, that people be judged not according to their political appurtenance but according to their professional competence, and that managers be given the necessary certainty to get on with their work.

Against an Atmosphere of Fear

We are in favor of an open policy, within the party and toward the public. We are not hiding our aims and intentions from anyone; we do not want to mislead any—not even political—opponents. Therefore, it irritates us that our behavior does not always meet with the same response. Naturally we are not appealing for any kind of blind faith. We understand those who, on the basis of past experiences, are cautious and who judge intentions by practical deeds. We envisage that our policy will not enjoy everyone's sympathy.

However, what am I to say to opinions about Communists' collective responsibility and to attempts to unleash anticommunist hysteria? We have demonstrated sufficient proof of our will to constructively cooperate in establishing a democratic system. We have given up our leading role. We want nothing more, but also nothing less, than the same rights and conditions as the others. We are developing our activity on the firm political and legal foundations of a democratic state. In harmony with this, we resolutely defend the political rights of all citizens, including our members. We are against creating an atmosphere of fear, anxiety, and insecurity; we are in

favor of establishing an atmosphere of political, legal, and moral confidence and of faith in justice and law. Incidentally, this is not only our demand. The other political forces are also in favor of this. We believe that no sensible person wants to trifle with extremist tendencies. We are always willing to lend a hand to cooperation.

What It Means To Be Modern and Left-Wing

Today we often talk about renewing the party on the basis of a new policy and about its transformation into a modern left-wing party. There are many and varied opinions about this; diverse suggestions are reaching us. I have to say frankly that, so far, we are only at the stage of formulating our ideas about such a party. The party's modern nature, obviously, lies mainly in its ability to recognize and understand the profound changes underway in society's social and special interest structure, in the people's orientation and thinking, in their needs, and in the methods for satisfying them. In my opinion, the party's left-wing character is given by the fact that such a party speaks for and defends the working people's interests—that is, the interests of those who have no other source of wealth than by working with their minds and hands. We place great emphasis on cooperation with all pro-socialist oriented parties and movements.

Our aim is to create a socially just society which provides the broadest scope possible for the free development of all its members. We are striving to ensure that our society is profoundly democratic and humane, a society in which citizens have an equal right in making decisions on matters of public interest, and a society which guarantees them social certainties. The party's character, its program and practical policy, its organizational structure, its internal way of life, and the forms and methods of its activity must all correspond to this.

Creating such a party is a long term process, a process in many ways limited and influenced by society's overall development. However, we cannot procrastinate and contemplate for too long. Today it is not enough just to say what kind of party we do not want. Today we have to take a forward looking view at what awaits the party and what it has to do in order to remain a real political force.

An inseparable element of the party's restructuring is the transfer of hundreds of thousands of Communists from factory organizations to organizations in localities. This is far from being a mere organizational matter, but involves a shift in party work from taking over the functions of state and economic organs to political engagement among people.

Ranks are rapidly expanding and the make-up of members of local organizations is changing. The new contents, form, and rhythm of party life, however, cannot be adapted to the previous method of activity. Local organizations must become flexible and attractive democratic focal points of political activity. They must live a rich ideological life and actively contribute to the creation of nationwide and local policy. The professional

and special interest clubs of Communists that are evolving should have wide ranging scope in the broad spectrum of party activities. They should become a base for the political activity of Communists in individual spheres of social life and a support for the activity of district committees. When establishing new primary organizations it is correct to proceed from local conditions and members' wishes. After initial ambiguities and a certain lack of control, the situation is gradually improving.

A not insignificant role in the process is played by the district committees, despite the fact that a number of them are seeking their position and content and methods of their activities in today's conditions. Many of them have problems maintaining links with primary organizations and with organizing voluntary activists. Their primary task today is to coordinate the process of organizational restructuring, to provide political and organizational assistance, to help ensure conditions for holding meetings, and to take care of the conduct of financial affairs of the party in the district.

Let Us Not Wait for Instructions

We cannot be satisfied, however, with the current state of availability of information to both rank-and-file members and activists of functionaries regarding the transition toward the new organizational structure. It is necessary to make use of the newly built consultation centers for that purpose. When communists make their decisions, their concern is not only where to apply but also what possibilities they will have in the new organization to assert themselves. The habit of waiting for some directions from above, inherited from the past, still lingers on and criticism is even to be heard that no such detailed and unequivocal directives are coming. The main problem does not lie in an insufficient flexibility [of the party leadership] but in the impossibility of elaborating a universal prescription which could be applied once and for all and in every case. A different matter, however, is our capability to be more active, to quickly evaluate and popularize acquired experience. The main thing is to understand the fundamental truth that without initiative and activity from below, the transition toward the new organization of the party cannot be mastered successfully.

It is important to complete the formation of the new structure of the party in its rough contours during February, so that delegates for district conferences can be elected from those newly born organizations.

The membership base of the party is undergoing significant changes. The number of terminated memberships dropped a bit lately. Based on what we know today, it is possible to estimate that 20 to 30 percent of the members which the party had prior to 17 November 1989 have left the party. In view of the fact that the transfer of members from working places to residential organizations is not finished yet, a significant number of communists apparently have not as yet joined the new organizations. That

is why it is important to contact them immediately and to discuss their participation in future party work.

We know that the question of the number of members is getting a new dimension. However, we must not allow membership to drop needlessly only because of organizational confusions. However, where people do leave the party for various reasons, we should try to keep their political support. Despite the fact that the interest in joining the party is understandably smaller than in the past, in January, for example, 1,159 new members were accepted in the Czech Socialist Republic, mostly from the ranks of candidate members. Party bodies and organizations do not show enough initiative in their approach toward admitting former members of the CPCZ—480 have asked for this possibility so far.

Party renewal cannot be limited only to organizational changes. Hand in hand with getting the organizational problems under control, we are seriously approaching a creative development of theory, which is the only thing able to shape the specific character and mission of our party. That is why we are preparing a speedy construction of a theoretical and educational party establishment.

An important role in the formation of the CPCZ as a modern left-wing party, especially as far as the creation of its program is concerned, is played by the CPCZ daily, RUDE PRAVO. Precisely because it is the newspaper of the entire party, of all its members, it should, to an even greater degree, reflect their views and attitudes toward the search for a new CPCZ image and for our country's future development. It should promote discussion from below about the election program of the party and also other contemporary issues.

Party members often reproach RUDE PRAVO for not responding promptly enough to all the new things appearing in our life, for merely taking note of matters and events instead of commenting on them sufficiently and elucidating them from the positions of the party. Communists also demand that it assume a stand on gross, sweeping demagogic attacks on the party. Of course, RUDE PRAVO must still be a truly respectable paper, it cannot repay vulgarities with vulgarities, it cannot respond to every slander. However, it is necessary to respond to serious accusations which have nothing in common with a democratic dialogue and pluralism of views. My impression is that the situation has been changing for the better in the last couple of days. I do not want to sound too optimistic, however. We also regard as particularly important the deepening of RUDE PRAVO's orientation at a wide aktiv of collaborators.

Asymmetry Has Not Acquitted Itself Well

In harmony with the conclusions of the extraordinary congress, the plan is being submitted to today's session of the CPCZ Central Committee for cadre, organizational, and material provisions for the constituent congress of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia.

This issue has been widely discussed among members recently. This is also borne out by our experience from personal encounters with communists in a number of places of the republic. Most of them understand and support the idea of establishing a communist party in the Czech Socialist Republic as a constituent part of the united CPCZ.

You know yourselves that asymmetry in the party structure has not acquitted itself well and this has rightly been criticized for some time. This situation was one of the major causes of the neglect of the Czech Socialist Republic's problems.

The establishment of a Czech party was being prepared as far back as 1968 but these plans were suppressed by the so-called normalization, along with [the suppression of] the Bureau for Party Work in the Czech lands. The establishment of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, which was not endowed with the requisite legal powers, was no solution.

For the party in the Czech Socialist Republic to be able to play its role, it must have the same standing as the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] in Slovakia. The organizational independence of Slovak communists and the possibility [of the CPSL] to operate as a national force must be retained. The establishment of a republican organization will allow us to galvanize into political action party organizations in Bohemia and Moravia, to effect an expedient division of tasks between the federal and republican bodies, and to approach the elections with a program that will convincingly address inhabitants of the Czech Socialist Republic and express Czech national interests.

As can be seen from the material submitted to you, we understand the entire preparation of the Czech congress to be in integral unity with the organizational renewal of the party and with the mobilization for elections. The district conferences at the beginning of March must not be organized in the spirit of previous practice, with empty ostentatiousness, but in accordance with present possibilities, in a strictly working and profoundly democratic spirit, in the traditions of communist modesty. Organizational considerations must be subordinated to political tasks. In accordance with needs and the existing situation, district and municipal district conferences must renew, complement, or reinforce the leadership of district party committees and select delegates to the congress. They must discuss in a specific way and with regard to the local conditions the course of action in preparing the elections.

The congress at the end of March, too, should have a strictly working character in our opinion, with a limited number of delegates. Its task will be twofold—to set up a republican party in Bohemia and Moravia and elect its bodies and to mobilize the entire party for the election campaign. In this context, it would be expedient to back

away from the originally contemplated nationwide conference geared to the elections. We put forward the proposal that the regular 18th CPCZ Congress be held only after the elections.

A few remarks about the delineation of the jurisdiction of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia. It will not constitute a new link of management, nor some additional intermediary element. As the supreme party body in the Czech Socialist Republic, it will participate in formulating the party line and implement it under the conditions of the national republic. We consider its share in drawing up the platform for the party's nationality policy to be of exceptional importance. There can be no doubt that the stormy developments in central Europe, and the radical transformations of its postwar settlement, have, in many ways, provided the Czech question with a new shape and dynamism. The unity of our socialist and patriotic ideals and the utilization of the democratic potential of the nationality question are thereby being moved to a higher level.

Because the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia will steer the work of lower-level party bodies and organizations, while respecting their independence within their sphere of influence, much more flexible links between members and the party leadership will be achieved. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia will approve nominations of party candidates for deputies to the Czech National Council, delegate its representatives of the Czech Socialist Republic Government, and make use of the knowledge and ideas of communists obtained during work in these bodies. We also regard as important the maintenance of working contacts with the leading bodies of the CPSL Central Committee. At the same time, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia will participate in the formulation and implementation of decisions of the CPCZ Central Committee, which will bear responsibility for a uniform nationwide policy, attend to the party's external relations, and deal with fundamental political, ideological, and program issues. The apparatus of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia will be formed from the existing apparatus of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Preparation for Elections

RUDE PRAVO has already published the standpoint on the preparation for elections, which was approved by the Executive Committee. First of all, we are in favor of the elections taking place according to the principle of proportional representation. This provides the best guarantee that the composition of the next Federal Assembly and of the national councils will correspond, basically, to the actual correlation of political forces. We are interested in the election campaign being conducted decently, with respect for democratic rules. We propose that an agreement to this effect be concluded at the roundtable. We are also in favor of each party financing the election campaign from its own means, without using grants from

either state enterprises or abroad. We recommend that the material resources of parties and political movements be placed under public control. We propose to everyone that the contest for voters' favor be waged by means of the specific contribution by members and supporters of every party to the enhancement of the living environment and to the embellishment of our homes. We are convinced that we should not compete in the number of election posters and in the cost-intensiveness of bombastic undertakings. We propose that the means saved in this way be donated for public benefit, for the construction of youth clubs and old people's homes.

Great attention will have to be devoted at all levels to the organizational preparation of the elections. The key factor for us, however, is the party's election program, the decision on the platform with which the party will enter preparations for the elections.

As a party which feels its share of responsibility for the lives of people in this country, we cannot be indifferent to developments in our national economy. We are, naturally, aware of the deep-seated, long-term problems in the efficiency, structure, quality, and technical standard of our economy. Many signals about current trends which we receive from the ranks of our members, but also from reports in the information media, are not favorable. Unfortunately, we do not avail ourselves of sufficient background materials to be able to draw general conclusions about the specific development, its positive and negative tendencies. This gives rise to all kinds of conjectures about the number of recalled senior managers, problems involving labor and technological discipline, the safeguarding of production in terms of material supplies, and the like. We identify with voices which draw attention to these phenomena with all due seriousness. We all must realize the dependence of democratic processes on changes in the conditions in which people live. When, figuratively speaking, bread becomes more expensive, even attractive-sounding words will inevitably become much cheaper.

When management workers lack the necessary guarantees for their work, healthy entrepreneurial activity cannot thrive. Instead of much needed trust, an atmosphere of anxiety, uncertainty, and distrust begins to spread. This not only jeopardizes efforts to achieve better economic performance, but it also does not contribute to the moral renewal of society and does not serve the cause of the good reputation of our state. The public rightly points out to this and expects a remedy.

Why do we place such emphasis on the normal functioning of the economy? Similar to other political forces, we are advocates of a profound economic reform. It was upon our party's initiative that preparations for it started. We, too, are interested in overcoming backwardness, in a dynamic development, and in rapid scientific and technological progress. We are in favor of equal, mutually advantageous economic cooperation with the East and with the West. We endorse equal competition

between all forms of ownership, including the use of foreign capital. This is why the slogan "The worse the situation becomes, the better for us" is absolutely alien to us. We know well that it is primarily by good quality work that all of us must contribute to future economic prosperity. However, the transition toward a market economy must not be implemented by means of a shock therapy but on the basis of a well-considered program of gradual steps, with the proviso that it must not mean a general sellout of national property to individuals at home and abroad, undeserved enrichment for some, and the deterioration of living standards for others. The sense of social justice, national independence, and trust in our own resources is intrinsic to our people. These aspirations also express the position of our party.

New Foundations Also for International Activity

The endeavor to transform the CPCZ into a modern left-wing party requires its broad involvement in the international sphere, it requires that its foreign political activity and the development of its international relations be put on new foundations.

The ideas of socialism are subjected to a historic test, in our country and on the global scale. Passing this test means discarding everything that is discredited, overcome by developments. We do not renounce revolutionary traditions and ideals but we must transform them into a modern shape for our policy to match the conditions of the nineties. International dialogue and cooperation are of invaluable importance for the formulation of a strategy and tactics that are adequate to the new situation.

Following the Extraordinary CPCZ Congress, we have unfolded wide-ranging international activities with the aim of propagating the new principles of our activity. We sent a letter to the major left-wing parties of Western Europe, in which we informed them about the CPCZ's new political line and its action program. In the letter we expressed our readiness to cooperate with all left-wing and democratic parties in Europe. At the same time, we expressed our interest in their experience of having operated under the conditions of a pluralistic democracy.

To develop relations with the CPSU under the new conditions, a working visit to the USSR is being prepared. We are convinced that political and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, which is going through a fundamental process of renewal, will continue to be of extraordinary significance for Czechoslovakia. We therefore believe that the solution to all questions concerning mutual relations must be approached with this in mind.

We devote attention to contacts with communist and workers' parties in the other socialist countries as well. We provide them with information on our situation and plans and take an interest in their experience. We have established party contacts with the Hungarian Socialist Party. The renewed Hungarian Socialist Workers Party,

too, has shown interest in contacts with the CPCZ. We expect a visit by Comrade Gysi, chairman of the Party of Democratic Socialism. We seek a new quality of relations with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which should find its expression in a meeting between the highest representatives of the two parties. Working-level talks with the Polish and Bulgarian parties are in the stage of preparation.

In view of the domestic political development in the CSSR and the new conditions for the CPCZ's external activity, our approach to the communist parties and progressive and democratic movements of the developing world, too, will have to be reassessed. The situation calls for a comprehensive and businesslike consideration and evaluation of all experience from the policies pursued thus far and the setting of new priorities.

To clarify relations and establish contacts with communist, socialist, social democratic, and other left-wing parties and as a step toward obtaining international recognition for the CPCZ, we have held a number of working meetings with representatives of major West European left-wing parties. We received a high-level delegation of the French Communist Party and a delegation of PASOK, the Greek socialist party. Other visits are being prepared.

We do not want to overestimate the results that have been achieved. We know that the integration of the CPCZ in the broad international dialogue will be a demanding task. However, we must approach this task with the awareness that it can significantly contribute to the CPCZ's standing in our new political system.

Our party must face up to sharp, often unscrupulous, and sometimes even unjust indiscriminate criticism. Faced with strong political and psychological pressure, some communists are losing their certainty, giving up their activity, or leaving the party ranks. We must not hide this picture of the reality from our view.

However, we must also see that the determination to continue working, to renew the party, to shape its policy on new foundations, to defend the honest work and good results of past years, and to regain people's trust is growing among communists. It will be a long process and it certainly will not be free of pain. The course of many activists of the preceding weeks confirms, however, that, in spite of this, the party lives, that it is changing, that it is transforming and renewing itself. This demonstrates that the strength of socialist ideas does not dwell in declarations, material assets, and government seats, but in people's conviction about their veracity. It is primarily in this that the guarantee and the irreversibility of social progress lie. Even today there can be no doubt about this. This is neither cheap consolation nor a pious wish but the invincible truth of life. It is possible to deny and profane this truth, but it will never be possible to suppress it.

CPCZ's Saling Questioned on Party Organization
AU2002121590

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 16 February, page 7, carries a 1,000-word interview with Ondrej Saling, secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, by Vaclav Pergl entitled: "Need To Speed Up the Party's Transformation." The date and place of the interview are not given. In addition to questions concerning the agenda of the (meanwhile concluded) session of the CPCZ Central Committee of 17 February, Saling replies to questions about the decline of the party's membership and about organizational issues. He says that, according to preliminary data, the number of CPCZ members has dropped by about 500,000 and the party now has approximately 1,200,000 members. In individual districts, the number of members who have left the CPCZ is said to range between 20 and 60 percent. Saling also mentions that 1,159 people joined the CPCZ in the Czech Socialist Republic in January 1990.

Speaking about organizational issues, Saling welcomes the founding of "clubs of communists" as a "new organizational element in the work of the party." He says that the clubs' associate party members of the same profession or "on the basis of some other platform" and that, so far, most of them have been set up by party members working in the nonproduction sphere. He notes that clubs can be established both within the framework of existing CPCZ primary organizations, as their subdivisions, or as separate CPCZ primary organizations, with all the rights of primary organizations. He stresses that, in contrast to the past, the party leadership will no longer issue any instructions on the forms and methods of primary organization work and that "apart from the generally valid principles applying to the whole of the CPCZ, the forms and methods of work will be determined by party members' own initiative."

CPCZ Central Committee Adopts Resolution

*AU2302103390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
19 Feb 90 p 3*

[Report on resolution adopted at the second Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Session issued in Prague on 17 February]

[Text] Among other things, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee made note of a report delivered by Comrade Adamec and a proposal for the establishment of CPCZ political commissions in electoral regions in view of the elections to legislative bodies.

The Central Committee approved:

- an amended draft of the CPCZ election program, which will be submitted to public debate through RUDE PRAVO, PRAVDA, and UJ SZO;
- principles for the selection and preparation of candidates for deputy seats in the CSSR Federal Assembly,

the Czech National Council, and the Slovak National Council, approved with comments;

- a chronological timetable for party organs' and organizations' main tasks in preparing for the elections to legislative bodies, approved with comments;
- a proposal for the establishment of a CPCZ territorial organization in the Czech Socialist Republic and an assurance of preparations for its constituent congress, which will take place in Prague on 31 March 1990;
- a CPCZ Central Committee commission report evaluating political responsibility for crisis development in the party and society.

RUDE PRAVO Opposes Changing Party Name

*AU2302101690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
17 Feb 90 p 1*

[Zdenek Porybny commentary: "Changing Our Name? The Majority Are Against"]

[Text] Within the framework of the discussion on a modern left-wing party, readers—on the pages of RUDE PRAVO—are making their views known about whether the party should or should not stick with the name Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]. This is indeed a serious and sensitive issue. After all, glorious chapters from the history of our past struggles against fascism, for our national revival, and for the working people's rights during the first republic are associated with the party's name. The older generation remember all this even more vividly.

However, rather than changing the party's name, we can renew its authority by definitively parting ways with past errors and distortions associated with CPCZ policy and by convincing the public of the sincerity of this endeavor. It is impossible to achieve this by propaganda alone, but by a specific policy and its results.

Yes, we want to become a modern left-wing party and we want to strive for the establishment of a socially just, democratic, and humane society which provides scope for the free development of all its members and which sees to the implementation of human rights and freedoms.

And changing our name? Let us turn to readers' letters. One thing ensues from them—not to change. The overwhelming majority of Communists use the same arguments: the party's history, the positive things it has carried out, and its sincere effort to correct mistakes. They also point out that changing the name would, in the end, only sound like "repainting the company's nameplate" and could become another stimulus toward the further departure of members.

Demands to change the name are in the minority. The arguments? The three main ones are: a mistrust of Communism (and, therefore, of the party which bears such a name), lack of trust in the credibility of complete

renewal without abandoning the name, and also the decision taken by some fraternal parties to part company with the past in this way.

We in RUDE PRAVO are convinced that it would not be correct to change our party's name and we are in favor of preserving its name to date—the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Sacher, Mohorita Discuss Feb '48 Anniversary

LD2202175690 Prague CTK in English 1602 GMT
22 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 22 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richard Sacher has voiced the conviction that the actions planned in connection with the anniversary of the February 1948 events in Czechoslovakia will be calm and free from emotions.

During his recent meeting with First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Vasil Mohorita the minister stated that February 25 (the anniversary of communists coming to power in 1948) should not become a pretext for mutual offences and attacks against political parties, movements or individuals, or even attacks on some facilities. Such thoughtless actions could be abused by various dark forces which still exist in our society, the minister said.

Vasil Mohorita stated in this connection that the present leadership of the communist Party dissociates itself from all similar actions and opposes them.

Statistics on Communist Regime 'Victims'

AU1902170290 Prague PRACE in Czech
16 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Rudolf Pernicky, chairman of the preparatory committee of the Confederation of Czechoslovak Political Prisoners, by a "kjk"-signed PRACE correspondent—place and date not given: "Moral Satisfaction Above All"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [PRACE] To this very day no accurate data exists on how many people have been unlawfully sentenced for so-called political offenses in the past four decades.

[Pernicky] The communist regime naturally obstructed the publication of the number of its victims. Nonetheless, on the basis of information published abroad as well as in Czechoslovakia in the year 1968, it is possible to give the following monstrous statistics: In the years 1948 to 1953, over 100,000 people were sentenced for so-called political offenses, over 40,000 of them to prison terms in excess of 10 years. Between October 1948 and January 1953, 232 people were sentenced to death, and 178 of them were actually executed. In no other country of the socialist bloc, with the exception of the Soviet Union, have there been so many executions as in Czechoslovakia. The number of people who were beaten to death during interrogation, who were shot at the border,

or who lost their lives in jails and uranium mines is estimated at 8,000. In addition, according to Czechoslovak data of 1968, some 23,000 persons were sentenced because of their failure to meet the set deliveries of agricultural products. About 22,000 people were sent to forced labor camps without a verdict having been passed. In the years 1968 to 1989 a total of 4,829 persons were sentenced for political offenses. [passage omitted]

Newsprint Allocation Controversy Continues

CPSL Offers Solution

AU2302094690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
19 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Standpoint of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee Regarding Problems in the Periodical Press"]

[Text] The Executive Committee of the CPSL [Communist Party of Slovakia] Central Committee has repeatedly expressed the willingness to seriously discuss all the problems connected with the periodical press in Slovakia. As evidence that the executive committee is not only engaging in discussions but also doing something concrete, we present the following facts:

1. It gave up the status of political publisher of district newspapers.
2. It gave up the status of political publisher of regional daily newspapers.
3. Since December 1989, it has been giving space in the daily newspaper UJ SZO to the Agrarian Party for the publication of its standpoints and materials.
4. In the weekly newspaper NOVE SLOVO it has opened space for the publication of opinions of the broad spectrum of the political left wing, which in our conditions we had been missing.
5. The number of copies of the PRAVDA daily newspaper was cut by more than 100,000 copies a day; starting 1 April 1990 this newspaper will adopt a reduced size, the so-called tabloid format.
6. The periodicals VEREJNOST, NAP, ZMENA have received newsprint from the quota allocated to the CPSL's PRAVDA Press Combine.

Expressing publicly the willingness to contribute to the creation of space for the publication of various opinions in accordance with the endeavor for national understanding and democracy, the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee proposes the following procedure and solution:

1. It will reduce the volume and size of the PRAVDA daily newspaper to such a degree as will satisfy the information requirements of the interested parties—the readers. Similarly, it will reduce the volume (by half) and number of copies of NEDELNA PRAVDA, which is a supplement to the newspaper. (The overall volume will be smaller than that of RUDE PRAVO.)

2. It proposes to designate the daily newspaper UJ SZO as an independent newspaper of the Hungarian minority. The newsprint allocation would be taken from the existent CPSL allocation and VASARNAPI UJ SZO would be cut to one-half and published as a supplement to the newspaper.

3. It requests the government to monitor the utilization of newsprint and the number of returned copies in order to avoid the absurd situations in which people are not offered what they ask for and, vice versa, that what does not draw interest is forced upon them.

4. It will support the Slovak Government in a fair solution for the newsprint distribution within the framework of the CSSR. This would represent a supply of an additional 5,000 tonnes for Slovakia.

5. The newsprint allocation for the CPSL periodical press was 10,066 tonnes so far. Based on the given proposals it claims for the next period only 4,500 tonnes.

Parties Protest Discrimination

AU2302102590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
19 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report: "The New Parties Want Equal Conditions"]

[Text] Bratislava—Ivan Paulicka, chairman of the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia, and Igor Cibula, leadership coordinator of the Party for Democratic Socialism, held talks in Bratislava yesterday. After the talks, they issued the following joint statement:

On 14 February, representatives of the Public Against Violence Movement, the Democratic Party, the Freedom Party, and the Christian Democratic Movement held talks with Communist Party of Slovakia representatives on the topical problem surrounding the just distribution of newsprint. Representatives from the Party for Democratic Socialism and the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia were not invited to the talks, although both parties have already asserted that they will publish their own press organs. They regard this course of action to be a further manifestation of the discrimination which prevails against these parties, regardless of the fact that they are properly registered political parties.

The Social Democratic Party and the Party for Democratic Socialism previously warned the public of this discriminatory political practice on 8 February when they referred to the fact that their representatives had not been admitted to the so-called roundtable of most important political forces in Prague. Ignoring new political parties at this level deprives them of the opportunity to actively enter into the process of democratic transformation underway in our society and, at the same time, gives preferential treatment to political parties and civic movements that have press organs at their disposal.

The aforementioned situation leads to doubts about whether the election campaign and the elections to the most supreme representative bodies themselves will take place under equal conditions for everyone. If properly

registered political parties do not have an opportunity to make use of their own press organs in the election campaign, then citizens will be able to justifiably ask whether individual political parties' campaigns and the elections will take place under democratic conditions.

For these reasons, the Party for Democratic Socialism and the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia are turning to the Slovak Socialist Republic Government with a request that it provide them with the original amount of newsprint planned for 1990 for the weekly NOVE SLOVO. They are also requesting the chairman of the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, in compliance with his post, to guarantee them participation in the most important political forces' negotiations.

Calfa Assesses Canada, U.S. Visits

LD2202210490 Prague CTK in English 1904 GMT
22 Feb 90

[Text] New York Feb 22 (CTK Correspondent)—Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa told CTK here today that programs of cooperation in the spheres of finances, industrial production, establishment of banks and the living environment between Czechoslovakia and the United States and Canada will soon be prepared by these countries' groups of experts.

Speaking about the results of the visit of the Czechoslovak delegation to Canada and the United States, Marian Calfa said that in a very short time the delegation conducted an extraordinarily great number of negotiations.

He stressed that during these talks, the Czechoslovak officials stuck to the principle that the sell-out of Czechoslovakia's property is out of question and that economic cooperation must be equal and carried out in various modern forms.

Pan-European Union Assembles in Prague

AU2302093290 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE
in Czech 19 Feb 90 p 3

[CTK report: "Pan-European Union"]

[Text] Prague—The return to Europe, to the continent of freedom, democracy, Christian traditions, and prosperity, is the aim of the Pan-European Union of Bohemia and Moravia [Panevropska Unie Cech a Moravy], whose constituent assembly was held in Prague on Saturday 17 February. The assembly elected a preparatory committee, which will draft the union's statutes, ensure its registration with the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Socialist Republic, and convene its general assembly. Miroslav Kopt, formerly spokesman for the illegal Circle of the Czech Pan-European Union, became the union's executive secretary. A similar association in Slovakia was established on 16 February.

Delegation Seeking Council of Europe Membership

*LD2202225590 Prague Television Service in Czech
2100 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] A few weeks ago, Czechoslovakia applied for guest status in the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly, which affiliates 23 European states. A delegation of our Federal Assembly, headed by Jozef Stank, chairman of the Chamber of Nations, has been in Paris at the Council's offices negotiating the practical issues of our acceptance.

[Begin Stank recording, in Slovak] In the discussions, the deputies of the different European member states wanted to know about certain matters of our internal political life, such as the law on elections, the reorganization of the Federal Assembly, religious freedom, privatization in the economy, relations between Czechs and Slovaks, and so forth.

After the discussions, the committee's chairman told us that our application has been unanimously recommended to the Council's bodies for approval. We see this step as an expression of the general will in the Council of Europe for political unification. Their primary aim is to support and strengthen pluralist democracies and human rights.

In addition to this, of course, we are seeking to become full members, and we envisage that an application will be submitted by the Czechoslovak side in May this year at the proceedings of the parliamentary assembly in Strasbourg. [end recording]

CTK Head Addresses Employees on Changes

*LD2202202290 Prague CTK in English 1627 GMT
22 Feb 90*

[Text] Prague Feb 21 (CTK)—New director general of the CTK news agency Petr Uhl has emphasized the importance of competition for the agency's work.

In his statement addressed to CTK employees, in which he formulated the tasks of the news agency in the forthcoming period, Petr Uhl stressed that only in competition with other agencies can CTK work further improve.

CTK wants to remain a state agency, whose duty will be to provide objective news service to the Czechoslovak and world public and propagate Czechoslovakia's society and state at home and abroad, Petr Uhl said and added that it will be necessary to tackle problems of the Slovak branch of CTK.

Speaking about future personnel changes in CTK, Petr Uhl stressed that the principle of rentability is a priority demand for CTK. It is therefore probable that several activities will be limited or abolished. Possible dismissals must not have any relation to a political evaluation of employees. "As long as I am CTK director no one

will be dismissed only because he is or was member of any political party, e.g. of the Czechoslovak Communist Party", he said.

It would be, however, immoral and socially unacceptable that those who bear responsibility for social damage in the past twenty years work in CTK, Petr Uhl added. In this connection, he stressed the necessity to fully rehabilitate those who suffered due to these wrong steps.

New CTK Director Opposes Broadcast Monopoly

AU2302083990

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 21 February on page 8 carries a 1,300-word interview with Petr Uhl, newly appointed director of CTK, by Rostislav Valasek, entitled "I Am Not the Only One To Espouse Socialism." The date and place of the interview are not given. In the interview, Uhl first answers questions concerning the future of Charter 77 and the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS), of which he is a founding member. He says that even in a democratic Czechoslovakia there will be need for institutions looking after the observance of human and civil rights. In this context, he recommends that Charter 77 deal with "cases of discrimination and persecution for political conviction or affiliation to a political party, e.g. the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia" and that VONS attend to cases "in which legal proceedings are politically motivated." Asked whether VONS will become active in the case of Miroslav Stepan, the detained former leader of the Prague communist party organization, Uhl says that, should the proceedings against Stepan turn out to have a political character, "it would be our duty to speak out in the defense of Stepan, whom we otherwise do not like."

In the next part of the interview, Uhl expresses his pro-socialist political views and the belief that the left wing "has its place and chances in our society," despite recent poll results showing that the proportion of the population supporting socialism has dropped to one-third.

Finally, Uhl comments on the situation in the media. He says that newspapers should strive to retain "respectability and objectivity" and should beware of commercialism and the search for sensations. He also expresses his support for "overcoming the existing monopoly on agency reporting and radio and television broadcasting."

Slovaks, Hungarians Examine 'Nationality Question'

AU2302130890

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 20 February, on page 2, carries an 850-word CTK interview with Alexander Varga, deputy premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic, entitled "The Goodwill of the Hungarian Government." The interview, the place and date of which are not given, deals with Varga's one-day visit

to Hungary on 15 February, in the course of which nationality issues were discussed.

Speaking about his talks with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, at whose invitation the visit took place, and Deputy Minister Csaba Tabajdi, who is in charge of the Hungarian Government's "collegium for national minorities and ethnic groups," Varga says that they "exchanged views and experiences on the solution to the nationality question." In this context he notes that he was "pleasantly surprised" by the new Hungarian election law, which foresees that minorities and ethnic groups will be able to "directly delegate 1 deputy each to parliament." According to Varga, "this demonstrates the good will of the Hungarian Government to solve the nationality question."

Referring to his talks with Ferenc Glatz, minister of education and culture, Varga says that he drew the minister's attention to the "urgent school problems of Slovaks in Hungary" and was "given the assurance" that the Hungarian Government is aware of these problems. Minister Glatz reportedly told the Slovak deputy premier that a new law on the education of minorities will soon be passed, under which "the teaching of all subjects in the mother tongue will be introduced, instead of the three subjects taught in the mother tongue at present." Varga mentions that "in the first stage" the Hungarian side will probably request that Slovak teachers be sent to Hungary. Speaking about other Hungarian measures in support of the Slovak minority, Varga says that a Slovak language and literature chair will be established at some Hungarian university at the beginning of next academic year; that a new 400-million forint school building for Slovaks will be built in Budapest (its opening is planned for 1993); and that a "Slovak cultural center" will be opened in Hungary. The Hungarian side is said to be waiting for a decision of the Slovak Ministry of Culture whether the center should be in Budapest or Bekecsaba (the center of the Slovak minority in Hungary).

Finally, Varga mentions that he also had meetings with Maria Jakab, chairwoman of the Democratic Federation of Slovaks in Hungary; Pavol Kondac, the chief editor of the Slovak weekly LUDOVE NOVINY; and representatives of the Free Organization of Slovaks in Hungary.

Dubcek, Pithart Address Czech National Council

*LD2202155390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1100 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] The deputies of the Czech National Council welcomed Alexander Dubcek today. He acquainted them with the main principles of parliamentarianism, the principles by which a democratic federal republic should make decisions concerning fundamental questions of the formed majority of the deputies, who represent the most varied political, social, and national interests. In this connection he pointed out that the role of national councils must be enhanced in the federation. He proposed closer cooperation between republican representative bodies and the Federal Assembly—for

example, participation of the delegations of national councils in the course of discussion of federal laws in the committees of both chambers of the parliament. He noted the two main differences between the work of the parliament today and in the past 20 years: The old practice amounted to the fact that the deputies were mere approvers of the laws confirmed beforehand by the ruling party, while today they participate in their creation.

The second difference is the implementation of the right and duty of the controlling function of the parliament in relation to the government. On this point Alexander Dubcek noted that the members of the governments were never elected to be responsible for the grave errors in economic policy [as heard], the consequences of which are borne by us today.

The Czech National Council deputies were also addressed by Czech Premier Petr Pithart. He spoke about Czech statehood and said that the Czech state is not a thing that can be ordered from Prague, but that it is necessary to build it, starting with the smallest villages, from the feelings of belonging of the people living in the homes of which they themselves are proud.

Mr. Pithart said that the administrative order of the state will be changed, and that it will lead to the degree of autonomy required by the people living in a given territory to meet not only their cultural but also their economic, social, and political interests. This should resolve the demands of Moravia and Silesia, too.

The next part of the meeting of the Czech National Council is expected to produce discussion on the form of state insignia, state flag, and state seal of the Czech Republic. I shall inform you about this in further bulletins.

Dubcek: People Must 'Fight' for Democracy

*LD2202160890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1045 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[“Excerpts” of speech by Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek at 22d session of Czech National Council on 22 February—recorded]

[Text] (?In addition) to the extensive legislative activity, the Federal Assembly, Czech, and Slovak National Councils should above all reinforce considerably the control of the governments and their members, in particular with regard to the situation and the tasks of the national economy. I think that we must not neglect economic issues. I have been convinced of this from letters and information about the decline of work discipline, about difficulties in supply-consumer relations, and other problems. One of the reasons is the weakening of the position of economic management in enterprises. Considerable uncertainty rules there, and there is various interference in the economic management of production. Personal responsibility is disappearing in the process. I think that we all will agree that we have to start

as soon as possible to tackle in a practical way those issues which our society and individual republics are facing.

We are considering very carefully our every step regarding agriculture. I would like to stress this in particular, because in the recent past and also in the current period, I think that our agricultural workers deserve our recognition and respect. Why? Because in the past and also during this complicated period agriculture has been always a stabilizing factor in our republic. We all know that much will have to be done in this area too. We will however guide our policy toward making agriculture continue to be a successful stabilizing factor for our economy in our joint democratic development, and we are encouraged to adopt this policy by learning from our neighbouring countries. I think we all understand well what I mean.

It would be a fatal mistake to weaken the results of the November democratic revolution and to jeopardize it by failures in the economic and social fields. Therefore, on 12 February I had a talk with Mr Premier Calfa, and we agreed that at the current session of the Federal Assembly the government will put forward a report on its activity, on its program which was put forward to the Federal Assembly at the beginning of the year, and on the tasks that await us in the future, so we can concentrate on implementing the tasks as quickly as possible.

The current times urgently require us to concentrate all our might on constructive work and on uniting all people of good will to work for the benefit of our homeland and its prestige in Europe.

I would like to share with you one problem which also bothers me. It seems to me that we are too much concerned with the past, the recent years. We all know very well where Husak-Jakes's leadership of the state brought the republic. I mention this mainly because we cannot dwell too long on one-sided nihilism. This attitude will make people concentrate only against something, and does not positively mobilize them to fight now against removing those problems, those difficulties left behind in our national economy and in our society by the previous officials and the previous leadership. We all know that their heritage is bad. At present, however, we need constructive, positive labor. This is the main thing. Not only to fight against something but mainly—I want to emphasize this—the effort to fight for something. To put it briefly: A positive program that will be appreciated by our peoples so they will know that the democratic movement which started (?recently) can lead the peoples to the solution of the problems which they expect from us.

Why do I speak about these issues on this occasion? Because our peoples know far too well what was not good. They experienced it on their skin, so too speak. People however know well that pure negation is not a programme. People naturally want to know the truth but they demand from us also a direction toward the future.

They want to know the prospects, they want to know what will uplift them, what are the hopes for a better life in the future. I know, and you know it too, that it is not easy, but it is inevitable: We must direct ourselves in such a way that the people demand. (?What) matters is the orientation of our center. I was guided by this also in my talks with Mr. Marian Calfa.

I would like to finish by saying that your legislative body also should increase the efficiency of its control function in relation to the government and its individual departments. They should account to your committees on their work. Where else, I ask you, if not in the parliaments, in the current and, I would like to emphasize, new conditions should joint assessment of the urgent issues, the problems of our society and of individual republics, of individual departments, or the solution of key problems, be applied? Before I came to this room I spoke to your chairman and I suddenly thought: Well, in the past things were happening in the so-called house [barak]. (?There a resolution was made, and institutions came for it and then endorsed it) But where is this center today? Where is this collective leadership today? Where is today the institution that is to unify these peoples and this nation for the implementation of these further tasks? It is above all the Slovak and Czech national council, the federation, their elected representative bodies, and therefore I think that it is necessary on this territory to turn to this work in such a way that correct, optimal, common methods are sought to deal with those urgent problems which we have here.

Parliament plays an irreplaceable role in the new democracy and this should be fully appreciated, to avoid mistakes and to unify our effort that shall lead to the benefit of the democracy being born, to the benefit of successful work, and to the benefit of our peoples.

Civic Forum's Kucera on Draft Election Law

LD2202224390 Prague CTK in English 2122 GMT
22 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 22 (CTK)—The draft new election law, now under discussion in the Federal Assembly Constitutional and Legal Committee, will probably be approved without any substantial changes. In spite of extensive debate, Petr Kucera, representative of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center, told a news conference here today.

He said that eight political parties work in the framework of the Civic Forum, an initiative born during November 1989 events in Czechoslovakia, and their representatives will be on the Civic Forum's list of candidates for the forthcoming elections. Also on this list will be candidates from individual regions and those put forward by the centre, including outstanding personalities like the present ministers as well as representatives of minorities and some interest groups cooperating with the Civic Forum, Peter Kucera said.

As for double functions, i.e. of a minister and a deputy, Petr Kucera said Czechoslovakia will neither copy the British system where the two functions condition one another nor insist on the opposite possibility. It will all depend on the decision of political parties and individual personalities, he said.

Poll Results Released on State Security, Army

AU1602115490 Prague PRACE in Czech
14 Feb 90 p 2

["(MT)"-signed report: "It Is Not Necessary To Speak in a Whisper"]

[Text] Prague—At the end of January and the beginning of February, the Institute for Public Opinion Research at the Federal Statistical Office conducted a poll on State Security and the Army. Respondents were citizens over the age of 15.

In response to the question whether citizens feel that some of the armed units should intervene in current development, 38 percent replied positively regarding State Security, 20 percent regarding the police force, and 12 percent regarding the Army. Fifty two percent replied negatively regarding State Security, 70 percent regarding the police force, and 78 percent regarding the Army. The question about State Security was formulated before the decision on its abolition was made public.

In response to the question whether State Security should be maintained, two percent of respondents replied positively; 47 percent were in favor of its complete abolition. Citizens living in large towns were mostly in favor of its complete abolition.

The poll concerning military service and alternative service—matters previously only discussed in a whisper—is interesting. Opinion has changed since 1987 when the last survey was carried out. At that time, a length of service averaging 18 months was proposed and 43 percent of citizens recommended leaving the length of service at two years. Now the most common view is that service should be for one year (56 percent); 33 percent recommend service for two years. As far as the possibility of refusing to serve for reasons of conscience is concerned, 44 percent recommend permitting alternative civilian service, 38 percent recommend alternative service without weapons, 10 percent are in favor of not forcing young men into any service, two percent are in favor of compelling objectors to take part in service, and two percent are in favor of criminal proceedings being taken against objectors.

As far as military service for students is concerned, 44 percent of the respondents consider that students should not have military training and should have a shorter service; 20 percent are in favor of getting rid of military departments but of leaving service for other young men; 29 percent are in favor of maintaining military service, and seven percent did not have an opinion on this question.

Interior Ministry Reorganization Described

AU2102174690 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech
17 Feb 90 p 2

[Report on interview with First Deputy Interior Minister Ivan Prusa by Jaroslav Kabele; place and date not given: "It Was Ridiculous"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday a completely new security apparatus structure came into being at the Federal Ministry of the Interior. Jaroslav Kabele, a CTK correspondent, asked Ivan Prusa, CSSR first deputy interior minister, what the previous State Security structure had been like.

[Prusa] State Security was controlled by the Federal Ministry of the Interior. The problem was that in the past the overwhelming majority of units controlled by the ministry were designated as being part of State Security—for example, the passport and visas department, the department for the defense of nuclear power plants, and so on. It sounds ridiculous, but that is the way it was.

[Kabele] What kind of units, then, were abolished?

[Prusa] All State Security administrations.... Of course, in regions and districts State Security administrations and investigative departments were also abolished. The department for special operations was also abolished; the passport and visas department was abolished with the proviso that it should operate for a transition period before being reorganized.

[Kabele] What will happen to the staff in the abolished administrations?

[Prusa] They have been placed on reserve and, within the framework of our vetting procedure, a decision will be made on their conditions of service.

[Kabele] What will the new structure be like and what will individual units be responsible for?

[Prusa] The ministry's intelligence service will fulfill intelligence tasks. The Federal Ministry of the Interior's Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy will conduct a struggle with foreign intelligence services on our state's territory and a counterintelligence struggle with international terrorism; it will uncover anticonstitutional activity against our state's integrity, our nations, nationalities, races, and our citizens' religious convictions. Under control, and to a legally determined extent, it will monitor persons justifiably suspected of unfriendly activity. The task of the ministry's Office for the Protection of Constitutional Officials is directly specified in its name. Another new unit is the Office for the Investigation of Anticonstitutional Activities. It will investigate serious criminal acts directed against the republic's constitutional laws. The Passport and Foreign National Affairs Office will issue travel documents, will permit entry into and residence in CSSR territory, and will oversee passport control. The tasks of

the ministry's legislative organ will be fulfilled by the Office for Administration and Legislation which will also be responsible for the protection of classified information, state symbols, and the administration of state borders. The ministry's Rapid Deployment Unit will become our weapon against terrorists, kidnappers, and hijackers. It will help in the struggle against organized crime and against persons who engage in particularly dangerous criminal activities. Its staff will also be deployed during natural disasters.

Greens Hold Nationwide Congress, Elect Leadership

AU2302095990 Prague ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY
in Czech 19 Feb 90 p 1

["bau"-signed article: "Agreement Only After Discussion"]

[Excerpts] Brno—The constituent congress of the Green Party [Strana zelenych] opened in the rotunda of pavilion "A" at the Brno Exhibition Grounds on Saturday [17 February] after a more than half-hour delay. [passage omitted]

Approximately 320 delegates from Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia, as well as Green Party delegations from Poland, Austria, France, and Bulgaria, took part in the congress. The West German Green Party was represented by Milan Horacek, who is also a member of President Havel's board of consultants. [passage omitted]

The morning discussion about party statutes concentrated mainly on former CPCZ [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] members, who are now joining the Green Party. The opinion that former communists should "turn their coats" more slowly, which was presented by Bohumil Pokorny, doctor of natural sciences and candidate of sciences, who chaired the morning session on behalf of Moravia, drew great applause. The Green Party is not closing its door to them but, at least for a certain period of time, the party will not be electing them to office. In the afternoon, particularly after the speeches of some Slovak delegates, the congress was about to break up. Only after a stormy debate did Juraj Mesik, doctor of medicine, chairman of the Green Party in Slovakia, manage to achieve a compromise and the Green Party was able to establish itself as the second federally operating party—second to the CPCZ. The party is headed by a nine-member council with three representatives from Bohemia, three from Moravia, and three from Slovakia. Jan Jecminek, doctor of medicine, was elected party chairman and Martin Tichy, doctor of

natural sciences, and Juraj Mesik, doctor of medicine, were elected deputy chairmen.

Slovak Greens Protest Against Discrimination

AU2302103590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
20 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report: "From the Green Party's Letter"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Green Party in Slovakia's Coordinating Committee has asked CTK to publish an open letter to the Slovak National Council Presidium, the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee Presidium, and the Public Against Violence [PAV] Slovak Coordinating Committee in which, among other things, it says: On 9 February 1990, the election of new Slovak National Council deputies took place. According to a CTK report, the political parties, after reaching a mutual agreement with PAV, submitted a proposal for 42 candidates. Among them is not even one candidate to represent the Green Party in Slovakia or conservationists, despite the fact that "according to the results of a representative sociological survey carried out by the Independent Social Analysis Group, the Greens would win the second largest number of votes, 10 percent, immediately following Civic Forum and PAV with 29 percent" (VEREJNOST No. 11 1990). The restructuring of the Slovak National Council, not founded on principles of democracy and justice, affronts this representative organ and is an expression of cabinet policy. The Green Party in Slovakia, conservationists, and other political forces do not have access to the talks at the roundtable and are being pushed off the margin of political events. We demand that scope be created in Slovakia for the equal status of all political parties and movements, including scope for the speedy resolution of the new political parties' finances. The current level of discrimination is no longer tolerable.

Bohemian Greens Party Paper Appears

LD1602102690 Prague CTK in English 0948 GMT
15 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 15 (CTK)—The first, zero number of the paper of the Party of Greens in Bohemia "THE GREENS" appeared today.

The party was registered as an independent political party in Czechoslovakia on February 3 and will have its national constituent congress on February 17.

The paper will come out twice during March and then will appear regularly as a fortnightly.

Agricultural Party Backs Limited Subsidy Cuts*AU2302102190 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY
in Czech 19 Feb 90 p 3*

[Statement by Czechoslovak Agricultural Party Secretary Jiri Stych, in charge of public information; place and date not given: "Fight for Subsidies in the First Round"]

[Text] In the advanced European countries, agriculture gets a subsidy of 45 to 55 percent. Czechoslovakia has a different system: The agriculture-food industry complex surrenders to the state budget 50 percent of its profits, a 50-percent levy on wages, and, as a curiosity, even a land-value tax, even though very often this land is not state property but, to this very day, is held by private owners, i.e., cooperative farmers. Moreover, the state has taken possession of 728,000 hectares of agricultural land for the construction of housing settlements and factories (without providing even a financial compensation), which reduces proceeds from agriculture by 6 to 8 billion korunas a year. Apart from this, together with other fees, agriculture and the food industry were to surrender to the state budget 41,282 billion korunas last year.

However, the Czechoslovak state also provides agriculture with subsidies, to offset the difference between the procurement prices of agricultural products and the outrageous prices of industrial products needed for agricultural production. In this way it maintains a relatively low level of prices for foodstuffs and, by the same token, its own political stability. In 1989 the state was to return [to agriculture] 34,886 billion korunas.

At the end of January, Doctor Pithart from Civic Forum and Minister of Finance Klaus, in a move that was no coincidence, released test balloons to sound out public opinion on cuts in agricultural subsidies (which, a few days later, they interpreted as an erroneous interpretation on the part of journalists). Today the subsidy cuts are on the negotiating table, unadorned. The Federal Ministry of Finance demands a 13 percent cut in agricultural subsidies for this year, which, in practical terms, would amount to a reduction in noninvestment appropriations by 2.17 billion korunas in Bohemia and Moravia alone.

To make things absolutely clear to everyone: The Czechoslovak Agricultural Party is not opposed to the endeavor of the Federal Government to attain a budget surplus to be able to effectively resist inflationary pressures. However, this must be achieved in a competent way and, above all, in branches which will not jeopardize consumers' purses by increases in the retail prices of foodstuffs.

We therefore fully support Engineer Jan Vodehnal, minister of agriculture and food of the Czech Socialist Republic, who, together with his Economic Council, drafted a counterproposal involving a reduction in subsidies in the Czech Socialist Republic by 1.3 billion korunas. These resources are to be saved from the land

amelioration fund (300 million korunas), from subsidies to the ZPOK [expansion unknown] system (almost 1 billion korunas), from subsidies to the manpower stabilization fund (30.5 million korunas), and from supplementary price instruments (42.5 million korunas). Such a solution would not involve the danger of agricultural enterprises curtailing the production of labor-intensive crops, such as vegetables, potatoes, and other raw materials for the food industry. Minister Jan Vodehnal was fully entitled to reject outright a reduction in price subsidies by an additional 800 million korunas.

However, it will be the Federal Government which will finally decide on the actual sum (or, more accurately, reduction) of subsidies, which—judging from the indications available—is no guarantee that agriculture and the consumers will not end up as losers.

Results of Independent Survey of Political Views*AU2302105190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
20 Feb p 2*

[CTK report: "Exchange of Person But Also a Profound Change"]

[Text] Prague—The Group for Independent Social Analysis carried out a representative sociological survey, entitled: Czechoslovakia —January 1990. The survey was carried out independently from official organizations, political parties, and movements.

The pollsters carried out the sociological research in the second 10-day period of January this year on a representative nationwide sample of 2,400 respondents, aged 15 to 69.

After the first analyses of the survey, it was ascertained that the overwhelming majority (86 percent) of the population is content with the political development in the last couple of weeks and a not much smaller portion (83 percent) expects that the revolution will lead not only to the exchange of persons or power elites, but also to a profound change in the entire political system.

If the elections were held when this research was carried out, the dominant position would be taken by the Civic Forum [OF] and Public Against Violence [PAV] movements, which would win 29 percent of the votes. Accumulated environmental problems are reflected in the 10 percent share of votes for the Green Party. More than five percent, which will be the threshold to win a seat in parliament, would also be won by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] (8.4 percent), the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and the Czechoslovak People's Party (about 6 percent each).

The dissimilarity of the situation in Slovakia is reflected in the growing influence of the newly constituted Christian Democratic Party, which would win 8.7 percent of votes there; the Democratic Party would follow next with 6.7 percent; and only 6.4 percent would vote for the CPCZ.

According to the survey, 600,000 to 800,000 members of the original 1.7 million have left the CPCZ's ranks; this process is expected to continue dynamically. Moreover, people leaving the CPCZ are likely to be young and better educated and the number of men among them exceeds the number of women. The adaptation capabilities and the party's chances in the elections are thereby decreased. Of the members who remain in the CPCZ, a little more than one-half would vote for their party. In time, only those who have a genuine communist way of thinking will remain in the CPCZ, i.e., this party will become small.

The opinions concerning an adequate political system are apparently merely in an embryonic state. Only the notion of the role of the OF and the PAV movements as guarantors of the crystallization of the political scene is clear. Most of the population does not want those movements to be transformed into strong political parties (77 percent) and prefers their civic and independent status. The reasons are apparently the fears of a centralized and political power; these fears function as one of the main traits of the political climate of today's Czechoslovakia.

At first glance, notions of Czechoslovak citizens about the political system correspond to an individualistic and depoliticized civic society. This makes the role of the OF and PAV movements as dominant political forces even more difficult. On the one hand, they are expected to become the basis and fertile soil for the civic movement and the broad spectrum of political and civic interests weakening central power. On the other hand, they must already initiate and support fundamental changes eliminating barriers in the economic and administrative system in favor of the market economy (68 percent), including a vast private sector (63 percent). Those changes should apparently take place even before the elections. The citizens' high level of activity and preparedness to invest energy, time, and money into the creation and search for new opportunities does not, for the moment, have the necessary systemic conditions, and there is a danger that the wave of determination will fall off without effect or that it will turn against the OF and the PAV. Many people (30 percent) are willing to change their jobs, almost one-half intend to start to work hard and to struggle for top achievements, and 15 percent want to start private businesses. More than one-half of those questioned feel a strong responsibility for their own assertiveness at work and do not require job guarantees from the state. The values of social security and equality remain, however, highly appreciated, on the plane of fears as well as on the plane of the strike threat. [sentence as published]

New Name, 'Czechoslovak Republic,' Poll Choice

AU2302102690 Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Feb 90 p 1

["(DBS)"-signed report: "The Majority Are For"]

[Text] Prague—The Institute for Public Opinion Research at the Federal Statistical Office recently conducted a poll in which 770 CSSR citizens representing a cross section of society expressed their opinion on the proposals for changing the republic's name and state emblem. These proposals were put forward by President Vaclav Havel on 23 January at the Federal Assembly. Seventy-nine percent of respondents agree with the proposal to change our republic's name to the Czechoslovak Republic. Support for the proposal is more perceptible in Bohemia (85 percent) than in Slovakia (70 percent). Slovak citizens also put forward other names, most often Czecho-Slovakia or the Czecho-Slovak Republic. Seventy-five percent of citizens are satisfied with the newly proposed design for the state emblem. As in the case of our state's name, Slovak citizens expressed their agreement to a lesser degree than did the people of Bohemia and Moravia.

Liberal Democratic Party Registered in Slovakia

*AU1502115390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
12 Feb 90 p 2*

[CTK report: "Liberal Democratic Party on the Political Scene"]

[Text] Bratislava— The Ministry of the Interior and Environment of the Slovak Socialist Republic has registered the Liberal Democratic Party in Slovakia [Liberalnodemokraticka strana na Slovensku] as the fourth new political party. Its foundations were laid during the first days of December 1989 and were based on the principles of the then opposition political movement, the Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative.

The Liberal Democratic Party represents the traditional center of the political scene and builds on the democratic heritage and neo-liberal understanding of man's place in the world. Man's personality, his freedoms and possibilities of self-realization, are in the focal point of the party's interest, since it emphasizes that individual freedom can be curtailed only if it interferes with the freedom of another person.

The Liberal Democratic Party strives to contribute to the creation of real political pluralism in Slovakia represented by political parties of various opinions. It was precisely on the party's initiative that the first coordination meeting of the newly formed political parties was held; it has been followed by more such meetings.

The Liberal Democratic Party subscribes to an efficient and operative principle of the federation of two sovereign nations. The party is of the opinion that the accumulated problems of a socio-political and economic nature, and also all questions connected with human rights and freedoms of the individual, should and can be successfully dealt with on the basis of two national republics which delegate a part of their legal powers to federal bodies. In this connection the party rejects ideas which cast doubt on the integrity of the Czechoslovak state, as well as demands for political autonomy raised by groups of the population. In our history and also in the world we find enough inspiration on how to set up a democratically operating pluralistic system; a system with which will enter the common European home as an equal partner bringing, in the process, numerous elements of renewal originating in our heritage and mentality.

The Liberal Democratic Party rejects the monopolization of power and rule with respect to both the history and present times, stressing that every individual and every political party or movement must have the same and equal conditions to bring about its programmatic targets. Only in this way will we ensure that the first open elections in our country since 1946 are not only free but also democratic.

The chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party Executive Committee is Dr. Miroslav Janek. Address: Liberal Democratic Party in Slovakia, P.O. Box 813 28, Bratislava

Democratic Youth Supporting Legacy of Masaryk

AU2302093890 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak
19 Feb 90 p 1

["c"-signed report: "They Uphold Masaryk's Legacy"]

[Text] The first congress of the Czechoslovak Democratic Youth [Ceskoslovenska demokraticka mladez]—CSDM—was held in Sec near Chrudim, on the premises of the former Central Political School of the Socialist Youth Union, on 17 February. The idea to set up an independent youth organization that would compete with the then monopoly of the Socialist Youth Union was born on 7 March last year, the day of the anniversary of T. G. Masaryk's birth. This independent special interest organization associating young people between 14 and 30 years of age upholds the legacy of T. G. Masaryk and all other Czechoslovak and world representatives of the democratic movement.

A substantial portion of the day-long deliberations was taken up by the definitive formulation of the statutes. The delegates agreed that the basic element in the organizational structure of the CSDM would be the club. It can take any form, on the basis of the needs and interests of at least five members. The other organizational elements will be district coordinating centers, city coordinating centers in Prague, Brno, and Bratislava, regional coordinating centers, and the CSDM Central

Committee, to the head of which the congress elected Daniel Soural, a secondary school student from Prague.

Independent Democrats Register as Slovakian Party

LD2102132290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
0300 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Another political party, the Party of Independent Democrats [Strana Nezavislych Demokratu], has been registered at the Slovak Ministry of Interior and Living Environment. It has no affiliation with either Civic Forum or Public Against Violence, both of which it regards as establishing a rising monopoly of power. It demands a speedy departure of all political parties and movements from work places, with the exception of independent and democratically elected trade unions.

New Party Proclaims Independence From CPCZ

AU1502123290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
12 Feb 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Part of the Left-Wing Movement"]

[Text] Brno—Part of the Democratic Forum of Communists [DFK] Movement has decided to establish a new left-wing political party—the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum [Ceskoslovenske demokraticke Forum]. This happened in Brno on 10 February at the nationwide conference of representatives from the Democratic Forum of Communists district centers. The Democratic Forum of Communists will continue as a politically active stream within the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ].

In an interview with a CTK correspondent, Engineer Milan Taraba from Liberec, chairman of the nationwide preparatory committee, explained how and why the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum came into being. "Our party has evolved as a party absolutely independent of the CPCZ. We want to be a fundamentally left-wing and a thoroughly democratic party. A difference of affiliation and belief is not at variance with our aims. A complete democracy is a fundamental principle of our party's structure and operation. We are establishing our own opposing organ, a policy council, to implement this democracy."

The DFK's Statement

Yesterday the Democratic Forum of Communists handed CTK a statement in which it says that it is still a radical stream operating within the CPCZ and outside of it. It affiliates current and former CPCZ members and sympathetic non-party members. It enables communication between Communists on a horizontal level regardless of existing CPCZ structures.

The Democratic Forum of Communists' mission is to become a permanent and constructive opposition within the CPCZ and an instrument with which democratic

feedback is guaranteed in the party. The DFK will establish its own organizational structures for this.

In the future, the Democratic Forum of Communists' coordination and representative functions will be carried out by a seven-member nationwide group. Its headquarters is in Brno. Dr. Josef Kasuba was elected political representative and Dalibor Zvolsky was elected press representative. The nationwide coordinating group's address is Rijnova Revoluce Avenue 18, 602 00 Brno, telephone 672 743.

Republican Party To Hold Congress 24 Feb

LD2102143190 Prague CTK in English 1336 GMT
21 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 21 (CTK)—Some 250 delegates will meet here at a congress of the Assembly for the Republic—the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia on February 24, chairman of the preparatory committee of the party Miroslav Sladek informed journalists here today.

The Assembly for the Republic—the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia is closer rather to the American than European type of a party. Its main task is not to strive for gaining new members but it has a program with concrete aims, e.g., immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops.

The party will cooperate only with right-wing political parties. It rejects any form of dictatorship, be it proletarian or fascist. Therefore it will not establish contacts with any neonazi party, Miroslav Sladek said and underlined the significance of private ownership and its protection for the future development.

Vatican Fills Vacant Bishoprics

LD1902140890 Prague CTK in English 1120 GMT
19 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 19 (CTK)—The revolutionary events in Czechoslovakia in November 1989 have contributed to the solution of one of the most discussed topics in

relations between the Czechoslovak state and the Catholic Church within the past few decades.

All Twelve Roman Catholic dioceses in Czechoslovakia are filled now for the first time in 50 years, with the last five new bishops appointed by Pope John Paul II at the close of last week, and also the Greek Catholic Church has its bishop now. Many of the dioceses were vacant for the longest time in the world. At the beginning of 1988, the Roman Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia had only three bishops. This church is the biggest in Czechoslovakia, associating two thirds of the 30 per cent of Czechoslovak citizens who are believers.

The filling of bishoprics in Czechoslovakia had for a long time been hampered by the attitude of the former regime which pushed through members of the now already non-existent association of Catholic priests "Pacem in Terris" never acknowledged by the Vatican, as Bishops. On the filling of the bishoprics Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Josef Hromadka told CTK: "My wish has come true and it is also the result of my talks with representatives of the Holy See in December 1989 and January 1990. I am glad that the Vatican has met my wish to fill the bishoprics by the end of March 1990".

Answering the question concerning the prospects of resuming diplomatic relations with the Vatican, Josef Hromadka said that the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry is dealing with this issue very intensively. The solution of this issue by the date of the pope's visit to Czechoslovakia in April depends merely on practical aspects. Nothing else prevents the contacts from being resumed, Josef Hromadka pointed out.

Government Appoints New Chief Arbiter

LD1602161890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
0500 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] The Federal Government recalled Slavoj Vanek from the post of Chief Arbiter of Czechoslovakia on 15 February. It has appointed Frantisek Faldyna to this post.

Hoffman Proposes Federal Army for Germany*LD2202150990 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1420 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A future unified Germany should have a federal army, composed of citizens from all parts of the state, GDR Defense Minister Theodor Hoffmann said today at a government news conference in Berlin. In the course of the political and economic unification, both German states must remain members of their respective alliances. The dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and of NATO can only be effected gradually within the framework of pan-European disarmament agreements.

In response to a question on the strength of the proposed federal army, Admiral Hoffmann developed the concept of halving the total volume of the two existing armies, thereby reaching a figure of about 300,000 men. Further reductions to the final strength of 150,000 to 200,000 men are conceivable, the minister said. All three sections of the armed forces—land, air, and sea—are needed, in order to guarantee the security of the country.

Further on Military*LD2202172490 Hamburg DPA in German
1601 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—In the GDR Government's view, there should be a federal army of, at the most, 150,000 to 200,000 soldiers in a united Germany. Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann told journalists in East Berlin today that after the dissolution of the alliance this army could take on tasks within a European security system. Major General Hans Deim, observer to the Vienna disarmament negotiations, added that there should on no account be more than 300,000 soldiers because, despite assurances, this could give rise to concerns among some, especially in Poland and France.

Hoffmann said that his ministry's proposals, which were discussed by the cabinet yesterday, were endorsed by the GDR Foreign Ministry. He added that the Warsaw Pact members regularly exchange ideas. The admiral said that the concept is to be introduced in talks with the federal defense minister by a new defense minister after the elections on 18 March.

In this connection, Hoffmann reiterated the international integration of the two German states and the responsibility of the four victorious powers, the USSR, United States, Britain, and France. The GDR and Federal Republic should remain in their military alliances in the course of growing together. Until a military integration within new European security structures is effected the alliance can assume political tasks. In the admiral's view, Soviet and U.S. troops must remain in Europe as a security factor during that time, even if only symbolically. [passage omitted]

Army's Importance Stressed*AU2302105890 East Berlin
BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Feb 90 p 2*

[ADN report: "Existence of National People's Army Necessary"]

[Text] Potsdam—The National People's Army will continue to be necessary for a foreseeable period and bear responsibility for security in Europe. This was stressed on 20 February by Minister Rainer Eppelmann (Democratic Awakening), who represented the German Social Union, the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany, the National Democratic Party of Germany, and Democracy Now during a panel discussion at the Land Force Command in Geltow.

Berlin Mayor Krack Resigns Over Elections*LD2302085390 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0822 GMT 23 Feb 90*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Berlin Mayor Erhard Krack resigned from his post today. At the start of the 16th meeting of the Berlin City Council, Chief Councillor Dr. Laurenz Demps read a statement by Krack to this effect. The latter was not present at the meeting because of illness, but had announced his intention 10 days ago. Krack was thereby taking political responsibility for the electoral manipulation during local elections on 7 May 1989. [passage omitted]

New Mayor Elected*LD2302101190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0949 GMT 23 Feb 90*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Dr. Christian Hartenhauer, hitherto city councillor for culture, was elected today as the new mayor [of East Berlin] at the Berlin Assembly of City Councillors. He ran as the only candidate for this office. In the secret ballot, 82 of the 132 deputies present voted for the 41-year-old economist, who had entered the City Council in 1986 with the mandate of the Cultural league. [passage omitted]

SPD Holds First Regular Party Congress*LD2202125890 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1146 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The first regular party congress of the SPD [Social Democratic Party] of the GDR opened in Marktleiberg, near Leipzig, at noon today. With the four-day congress, in which top Social Democrat politicians from the FRG and other countries are taking part, the party is entering into the decisive phase of the election campaign. Some 500 delegates will decide on the party program and on the leading SPD bodies. An extensive debate is expected on all important questions of a Germany policy.

Political Guidelines Noted

*LD2202145490 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1332 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—The people in the GDR must be freed from their fear of the forthcoming processes of economic and social restructuring. This was stressed by Angelika Barbe, second spokesperson of the SPD [Social Democratic Party] in the GDR today at the start of the first regular SPD congress in Markkleeberg, near Leipzig, which is being held under the slogan "The future has a name again: SPD."

With the reprivatization that will shortly begin in the GDR, there will be new opportunities for many people in the service sector, trade, and banking, where many new jobs would be created. The SPD wants to shape the currency and economic reform in a process of adaptation in such a way that the interests of the GDR citizens will be responsibly represented. The authority to make decisions must not be relinquished in a rapid annexation by the FRG. [passage omitted: suggested joint national holiday, possibility of social charter before the elections]

At the start of the congress, Angelika Barbe welcomed guests from the social democratic sister parties from Belgium, the FRG, Denmark, Finland, Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, and Hungary; ambassadors accredited in the GDR; and other diplomats from numerous countries.

In the draft program, which is to be adopted at the congress, the SPD places itself in the tradition of democracy and social justice. Political guidelines are the commitment to an independent judiciary, free media, just pay, the preservation of the towns, and German unity. A European security and peace system is sought. [passage omitted]

On Asserting Independence

*LD2202173390 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1630 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Ibrahim Boehme, business manager of the Social Democratic Party [SPD], does not consider there being any point in making a statement about a coalition before 18 March. At a briefing on the fringes of the first SPD party congress, he told journalists that if the Social Democrats are entrusted with forming a government they would make the decisions on their program.

He did not put much weight on opinion polls on political developments because the popular mood is varying greatly. It is important that today's parties are democratic, whether social or Christian democrat. The understanding of democracy in the GDR has developed very quickly. New Forum has achieved great things in helping the population of the GDR overcome its lack of expression.

In response to a question about whether the GDR SPD is a satellite of the Bonn Social Democrats, Boehme said that however small the party might be it will know how to defend itself and assert its independence. A Social Democrat-led government will make efforts for fair talks even with Christian Democratic Union politicians such as Helmut Kohl. There is no prejudice on the part of the Social Democrats.

Economic Union Urged

*LD2202183390 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1642 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The Social Democrats in the GDR want monetary, economic, and social union with the FRG now, Social Democratic Party [SPD] Business Manager Ibrahim Boehme stated.

At the first party congress of the SPD in the GDR this afternoon, he stressed that the GDR was part of the German nation. He called on all citizens to remain. To uphold their interests, Ibrahim Boehme spoke in favor of negotiations between the two German states on an equal basis.

Program for Talks With FRG

*LD2202212290 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1805 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The Social Democrats in the GDR are in favor of monetary, economic and social union with the FRG now. Social Democratic Party [SPD] Business Manager Ibrahim Boehme told this to delegates at the party congress in Markkleeberg this afternoon.

He described an 11-point program for securing GDR citizens' interests and negotiations with the FRG. It envisions the introduction of the Deutsche mark, if possible, not later than 1 July 1990. All savings in GDR marks should be exchanged for Deutsche marks at a one-to-one rate of exchange. At the same time, the most important measures that are part of a functioning market economy have to be passed.

Boehme also spoke in favor of security against unemployment as well as regulations on and the financing of work creation measures. He responded to concern among the population about land and property that had earlier belonged to other people—citizens of the FRG in particular—citing the SPD's basic principles: The land reform of 1945 should not be called into question, the users of property have to be able to rely on a secure legal basis.

The Social Democrats appealed for more private ownership of productive and service enterprises. However, it should be "on the basis of social laws" and not arbitrariness. They are in favor of the introduction of rules on trade that do not make the sale of land impossible, but that close the door to any form of speculation and the exploitation of differences in currency and incomes by

western states in the GDR. The participation by FRG firms in GDR enterprises can also be promoted above the 50-percent limit if this serves to secure jobs. Rents should not be floated but adapted in a social manner to the development of productivity and incomes. A sensible structuring of the combines, the strengthening of the medium-sized sector, as well as the renovation of ecologically insupportable enterprises, are further points on the program.

We want monetary union, the speaker stressed, but we see the risks. In order to soften these, we need the FRG's help. Ibrahim Boehme said he would have hoped Chancellor Kohl, with whom a Social Democrat-led government would and wants to cooperate, will have appreciated the difficult position of the GDR's prime minister during his visit to Bonn.

Interrupted by Bomb Threat

*LD2302101590 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0930 GMT 23 Feb 90*

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The Social Democratic Party [SPD] party congress in Leipzig-Markleeberg has been interrupted by an anonymous bomb threat. A man telephoned the organization office and threatened to detonate an explosive charge in 15 minutes.

Congress Resumes Session

*LD2302114790 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1053 GMT 23 Feb 90*

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—After a more than 70-minute interruption caused by an anonymous bomb threat, the Social Democratic Party [SPD] congress in Leipzig-Markleeberg resumed its morning session today. After the 22 February arrival of Deputy SPD Chairman Johannes Rau, premier of North Rhine-Westphalia, as guest to the congress, the 500 delegates today welcomed the premier of the Saarland, and designated SPD candidate for the chancellorship, Oskar Lafontaine. The two politicians will address the congress today.

This morning the delegates discussed the party's financial situation, endorsed the report of the credentials commission, and discussed the election procedure.

Modrow Not Leading Candidate for PDS

*LD2202173290 Hamburg DPA in German
1644 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow will not be available to his party as leading candidate in the People's Chamber elections on 18 March. According to information from the SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Modrow has already informed the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] executive, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's [SED] follow-up organization, of his decision.

Andre Brie, the PDS election campaign organizer, described Modrow's decision as a "heavy blow to our

party and policy." "Nevertheless, the prime minister will presumably allow us to use his picture in the campaign," he said. Modrow, former SED area chief of Dresden, is evidently also considering leaving the party altogether later.

Modrow had already indicated in an interview with the SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG on 14 February that he did not want to enter the election campaign as a dark horse. The 62-year-old politician is not, however, thinking of retiring. Modrow said he still had unfinished business. "I don't want to become a pensioner."

Modrow Position Unconfirmed

*LD2202203290 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1932 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Munich/Berlin (ADN)—Prime Minister Hans Modrow will not be available as his party's, the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], top candidate in the People's Chamber elections on 18 March. DPA reports this evening, quoting the SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG. Modrow already informed the PDS Executive of this decision.

As the head of the PDS electoral office, Andre Brie, this evening told ADN, in response to a telephone enquiry, that he could not confirm this. He simply stated to a SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG correspondent that a decision on this has not yet been taken.

Modrow Addresses People's Chamber 20 Feb

*LD2002145190 East Berlin Television Service
in German 1206 GMT 20 Feb 90*

[Address by Premier Hans Modrow to the People's Chamber session in East Berlin—live]

[Text] Mr. President, esteemed deputies, ladies and gentlemen: As you know, a working meeting of the heads of government of the two German states took place in Bonn on 13 February. On the same day and on 14 February, many other meetings and discussions with politicians and representatives from industry were held. The main topic was the necessary steps for the unification of the two states. I should like to inform you about the meetings and draw a number of conclusions from them.

The meeting was the first official deliberation of the governments from the two states on the basic issues of the unification of the GDR and the FRG. Thus, as regards content, the meeting went beyond that of the working meeting in Dresden. It showed that the solution of the German question is now on the agenda. In this connection, it clarified the two governments' stances, some of which were different and some identical. At the same time, a working process was launched to clarify one of the main issues of the bringing together of the two states. Today, experts from both sides will be starting the discussion of problems that have to be solved specifically for a monetary union. This is to be a contribution of

important work for the period after 18 March. Thus the expectations of wide circles of the population are being met.

Our government of national responsibility in Bonn was truly representative. The GDR delegation consisted of ministers from all the 13 parties that now form the cabinet. They all contributed to the result of this working meeting. They were able to do such constructive work because there was a common stance. These were the positions that were adopted by the roundtable on 12 February for the Bonn meeting and that corresponded to the government's basic attitude. I handed over this item to the federal chancellor at our introductory talks, and I stressed that there is remarkable agreement, which has to be taken into consideration, among the political forces in the GDR on basic questions of unification that, moreover, was also confirmed once again on 19 February at the roundtable.

The members of the government delegation, as well as myself, made it clear in Bonn that preparatory work for resolving the German question can be done even now and should be done. The actual decisions for the GDR can, however, only be made by the new People's Chamber that will be elected on 18 March and by the government to be elected by it. Insofar as foreign policy is concerned, there was agreement in Bonn with the FRG Government on this point: The process of unification must not run counter to pan-European interests. Moreover, it must be carried out in line with national and international responsibility. It must be a path in Europe and for Europe; it must serve peace and must threaten no one.

For this very reason it must be regretted that Federal Chancellor Kohl could not decide on a clear word of recognition of the Oder-Neisse border, although he was more or less called upon to do so at the news conference. On behalf of the GDR Government, I repeat what I also said recently in Warsaw: The Oder-Neisse border is the western border of Poland laid down under international law. It is the present eastern border of the GDR and has to be the future eastern border of Germany. This border between the GDR and Poland was established in 1950 in the Treaty of Goerlitz and Zgorzelec and it was recognized in the Warsaw Treaty between the FRG and Poland 1970. Our Polish neighbors link the very recognition of their western border at the Oder and Neisse with the saying: Never again will war emanate from German soil.

In Ottawa last week, there was agreement on the plan for a four-plus-two conference—the Four Powers and the two German states. This conference has the mandate to discuss the external aspects of the reestablishment of German unity, including the question of the security of the neighboring states. Thus, the interests and responsibility of the Four Powers and of the GDR and the FRG for the European unification process can be taken into account. Federal Chancellor Kohl sincerely agreed with me that we must approach one another rationally. The

conference agreed upon in Ottawa can considerably facilitate this for the international framework.

On the basis of these considerations, I therefore propose—I know I am going beyond the period of time allotted to my government:

First, experts from the two German states should begin as quickly as possible to prepare the four-plus-two conference. Also soon, possibly even parallel with the German-German negotiations, preparations for the CSCE summit meeting should begin, in order to synchronize these processes as early as possible. The GDR and the FRG are making a joint contribution to ensuring that this meeting offers political impetus for a European confederation as proposed by President Mitterrand. The two German states keep the other CSCE countries constantly informed of all important steps in further German-German alignment.

Second, before the planned CSCE summit the governments of the GDR and the FRG should make a joint statement, binding under international law, on the inviolability of the existing borders with their neighbors, in particular the Polish western border. There is no need to lay particular emphasis on the fact that the border question is of fundamental importance for mutual trust, predictability, and, therefore, for peace and security. I deem it normal and justified that neighboring countries such as Poland should express the desire to participate in the international negotiating process on German unification, given the border questions affecting them.

Third, the German states should advocate that overcoming the division of Germany goes hand in hand with the process of radical disarmament. The next steps on this path must be agreements in Vienna on conventional disarmament and on future upper limits for the USSR and U.S. troops stationed in Europe. Also necessary are radical reductions in the armed forces of the two German states, as well as further negotiations among the 25 CSCE countries on a European security system. However the future military status of a unified Germany may look, we must guarantee that there will be no interference in anyone's security.

There cannot be a Germany in NATO. It is, however, conceivable that a demilitarization of the unified Germany should go hand in hand with a gradual demilitarization of Europe.

The focus of the working meeting was on what the two German states will have to clarify and agree between themselves. I concur with the federal chancellor that unification requires not an excess of emotion but level-headedness and a sure eye. This was by no means always the case before the Bonn meeting.

From the Federal Chancellery there was the incorrect assertion to the effect that the GDR would be insolvent within the next few days and, from the same source, the rumor alleging that elections to the People's Chamber

would take place even before 18 March. German-German negotiations should no longer be prepared in this manner in the future.

It was also a surprise that prior to the Bonn meeting a new negotiation subject was announced via the media, the topic of monetary union, even with the rider that it had to be completed within a matter of days, as it were. Economic experts of the Federal Republic have also confirmed that currency reform, linked to monetary union, must be carefully prepared and secured. After all, the interest of more than 16 million GDR citizens as well as, surely, the interests of the FRG's citizens are at stake. My government's stance had to be that a takeover of the GDR in the monetary area and subsequently in all other areas is just not on. That was also the position of the roundtable. No doubt economic and monetary union are essential for the coming together of the two states, but I fully agree with the SPD [Social Democratic Party] chairman in the FRG that the principle of social justice must be observed on both sides in the unification process. He said recently in the Bundestag that it cannot be the case that one party makes money out of German unification and others have to pay for it with deteriorating living conditions. Hence the correlation of economic union, monetary union, and social safeguards must always be observed.

That applies to the preparatory work of the experts, that is the attitude of my government, and I hope that this will also be the position of the People's Chamber and government after 18 March.

My government has paid intense interest in recent weeks to ensuring that the social concerns of the citizens are safeguarded once economic changes take place. The decrees that have come into force regarding support and social benefit during procurement of work and retraining, as well as the financially coordinated opportunities for workers and employees to opt for early retirement are aimed at that. The preparation of unemployment insurance has been ordered because if during structural changes temporary unemployment cannot be avoided, there must be social safeguards. The wage increases decreed for certain employment groups already last year will come into force without restriction. In addition, other areas were included so that all presently available financial sources for wage increases—that must be stated clearly—are now being exhausted.

I deem it a binding obligation of any future government, also in conditions of a social market economy, to defend the right to work, to strive for the social safeguarding of the young and old, as well as families, and to offer social support and protection for old-age pensioners, single parents with children, and sick and handicapped citizens.

If the Federal Government has hitherto only understood specific unemployment insurance and adjusting the pension system under the term social accompaniment of an economic and monetary union, then this is too little. If

the transition to social market economy is, as the federal chancellor said, not to be a cause for fears, then more must be provided.

Doesn't the future Germany also need a social charter where inalienable values are preserved and established in the future? Here it is not least of all a question of the preservation of the social assets of the citizens, in particular the right to one's own measure of living space, as well as the securing of savings and other results of personal labor. There have also been interesting considerations on this matter from FRG scientists that, for example, were published on 19 February. For example, the Institute of the German Economy in Cologne considers it possible to carry out a transfer of all the GDR's money at a rate of 1:1 into the deutsche mark, and it sees in this the best solution economically.

In this connection, I would like to call on the citizens of the GDR to have confidence in the state of their savings. Money that has been earned honestly should stay in the account. There it will retain its value. It is also of no use to invest in several accounts. A future transfer of currency will undoubtedly take place according to people. Then it will be unimportant whether one has one's money in one account or in three accounts.

There are also questions relating to ground and land, peasant's land and property. I would like to summarize the government's position as follows: The binding principle must hold that the reforms on property and ownership relations, which were carried out as a result of World War II based on the Potsdam Agreement and the laws of the Allies' Control Council, are and remain valid law. Land ownership and house ownership must not be released from the obligation of serving the social needs of the people. That means that land must not become an object for speculators. To prevent a sellout of the land in a transitory period of five to 10 years, the sale of land in the territory of the present GDR should be subject to strict regulations.

I say emphatically that the land that is used for agriculture and the property of the peasants must be protected in particular. Interventions into the ownership and the use of the land are, inevitably, directed against the peasants. The land reform conducted in the GDR as a result of the war must not be jeopardized. All effectively acquired rights to land, house, property for recuperation purposes and similar cases have to be completely recognized as legal titles. Peasant's land has to remain peasant's land. [applause]

Anyone who has built himself a weekend house with his earned money must not be deprived of the fruit of his labor.

In accordance with the roundtable, I stated in Bonn that this government does not have a mandate to agree on monetary and economic union. Any precipitate arrangement would be detrimental to both states. May the next government, too, be guided by this observation.

On 19 February, a motion was submitted at the roundtable to ensure that everywhere public property is carefully handled so that it is preserved, utilized better and increased. This attitude must be fully supported. In particular, I approve of the call raised in the motion for the democratic control of the current events in industry by the trade unions and works councils, and I have also stressed that only all the people of the GDR can protect their public property.

Another demand at the roundtable on 19 February was for all the subsidies for food and restaurants to be removed before the 18 March elections and to turn them into personal benefits. As I have been told just now, this proposal has led to food being bought up in great quantities. I would call on the GDR citizens to stop that practice forthwith. I already said in my first government statement that it is part of the fundamental concerns to balance the effects linked to the reduction of subsidies fully through personal benefits. That should and must remain so. No one will benefit when food now subsidized is being bought up and hoarded, not to mention the fact that it could perish. In any case, compensation will be paid once these subsidies are cut so that no citizen will suffer loss. It can be a disadvantage for the whole supply situation if we do not now act level-headedly. We must investigate jointly the conditions and the timing of such a task. Attempts to put the government on the spot through rash statements can, as we have seen, have only negative implications.

I therefore call once again most sincerely upon every citizen of our country to show calm. There is no cause for buying beyond one's normal requirements. Buying in too great quantities will also cause damage that is hard to rectify.

The Federal Government could not resolve to pledge the solidarity contribution to the GDR of which there had been discussion in Dresden. We raised this again in Bonn. My government delegation and I were guided in this by the expectation voiced by the roundtable on 12 February to the effect that the FRG, as the economically and politically stronger partner in the process of unification, should now do all in its power to counteract a further destabilization of the situation in the GDR and to contribute to calm. This is, not least, a question of compensation for the exacerbated economic difficulties and losses incurred by the opening of the GDR borders. According to the calculations of the Ministry for Trade and Supply, the purchase of goods alone, including the cheap meals in restaurants, by citizens of the FRG and of West Berlin, amounts to at least 4 billion marks over a year. In view of this situation, it was and is important that we have the possibility of obtaining swiftly from the FRG goods that are of direct benefit to the citizens of the GDR, improving the living conditions of the people in towns and communities, taking into account the most urgent requirements of the infrastructure, and supporting measures for stabilizing the industry.

To repeat this clearly, we are not talking about 15 billion deutsche marks cash, but the delivery of consumer goods and materials, machines, urban technology, and other things of corresponding proportion. This solidarity aid to the GDR should, in our view, form a whole with currency union, economic union, and social security, and should also promote the growing together of the two states.

In my opinion, such immediate aid is also necessary to counteract further emigration from the GDR. This very thing has to be a joint interest of the GDR and the FRG.

The GDR has much to bring to the unification, great intellectual and cultural values, great material values that have been acquired by the people over the decades. The net national property of the GDR in 1988 was 1.4 trillion marks, of which 980 billion were in state property that will go into the pan-German state. Cooperative property is the sum of 140 billion marks; there are 280 billion in private property. The GDR will bring in 6.2 million hectares of land that can be used for agricultural purposes and, in marked contrast to the farming economies in the Federal Republic, they have no financial burdens.

Despite all our present difficulties, we must not lose sight of these basic facts. The GDR is by no means as rich as the Federal Republic, but we will not enter the unified Germany as beggars or in hair shirts. The GDR is a good piece of Germany, a great piece of Germany, as Federal President von Weizsaecker stated, on which one can build and has to build in future. As said here, it is not a question of material values alone. Yes, I am emphatically warning against leaving the solution of the national question of the Germans to the deutsche mark alone.

Despite all differences of opinion that there were during the talks in Bonn and that will be resolved in the future, I would still like to describe as constructive the meeting with the federal chancellor and ministers in his cabinet. It is a good starting point for further pertinent cooperation in many areas. It has set the course toward the way to Germany, united fatherland. I got these three words not from demonstrators but from the national anthem of the German Democratic Republic. Further steps in the moving together of the two states should not be characterized by election campaign tactics but by national responsibility, as is proper for this historic process. The politicians, nay, all peoples in East and West, expect that the unity of Germany will take place with common sense and the highest degree of responsibility. I particularly emphasized this aspect in my vision of the path toward German unity.

What we need in the GDR now is self-confidence, reflecting on one's very own values and, above all, on the will for hard, rational, successful work. We should now roll up our sleeves to muster that kind of performance that overcomes difficulties and that makes it possible to adjust our living standard. Anyone in the GDR still sitting on his packed suitcases should unpack them.

The next People's Chamber, which we will elect in about four weeks, will be qualified to undertake an historic step, the final step toward the unity of Germany. May nothing but good flow from this for our people, the peoples of Europe, and above all for our neighbors.

Fischer's Speech to People's Chamber 21 Feb

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[Speech by Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer to the People's Chamber in East Berlin—live]

[Text] Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, seldom have European relations been in such flux as they are today. The postwar period is now visibly coming to an end. With this, the chances have also grown for achieving a secure, stable and responsible community, the first of its kind on this sorely afflicted continent. All this engenders hopes, expectations and wishes, but of course also doubts, concerns and fears. Both are justified, for every chance also brings with it a risk. Whether the people of Europe are heading for a positive future, or whether they will once again fall into a political and military maelstrom, is not, as never before, dependent on the action and absence of action of all people, men and women, those on the street as well as the politicians, bankers or industrialists, those who make their voices heard, as well as the silent, but certainly not indifferent, majority of Germans and other peoples.

It is not rhetoric or election considerations that must now dominate, but national responsibility, so that the people of our continent do not enter a new prewar era, but lasting peace. The unification of the two German states has become the key issue of European debate not about whether, but about how, when, at what pace and under what conditions this unity can be implemented, without endangering stability in Europe and changing the force ratio in the world. And in the debate, sometimes heated, both public and internal, it is also visible how little East and West are prepared for the lightning tempo with which German unity is being irresponsibly urged in some quarters. An added reason, according to many of my counterparts in Ottawa, not to rush headlong is to pay strict attention to ensuring that there is no German go-it-alone policy—and pressing forward is also such a policy—that impedes European unity.

This is the main reason why the foreign ministers of the USSR, the United States, Great Britain, and France, who as the victors still bear responsibility for Germany as a whole, agreed with the foreign ministers of the FRG and the GDR in Ottawa to discuss the external aspects of establishing German unity, including the issue of the security of neighboring countries. I quoted this deliberately, because for the media of this state, rather than elsewhere, this sentence was apparently too long.

Of course the establishment of German unity is a process that both German states must shape and agree on together. It must preserve the rights and responsibility of

the Four Powers and the security interests of the other European states, in particular the direct neighbors of a future united Germany. These interests were expressed by several European states immediately after the release of the Ottawa communique by the six. The GDR Government supports this, as Prime Minister Hans Modrow said, and is open to all proposals. Of course, esteemed colleagues, we share the concern for political stability for our own sakes also. Therefore, there are two basic requirements: First, the unity of Germany can only be effected in conjunction with European unification. Ensuring this is the joint responsibility of all European states. Time is pressing: What is needed is new and comprehensive security structures, an institutionalization of the CSCE process, by means of which this union of European and German development can best be guaranteed. Second, the unity of Germany must be a gradual process, whereby the situation will remain controllable. Rushed action that ignores the different conditions in the two German states can only increase the unpredictability.

Here the responsibility lies, above all, with the two German governments, and particularly with the one on the banks of the Rhine, as has been repeatedly shown—and I am thinking of promises made. Putting these principles into practice in a level-headed and worthy way in the upcoming bilateral and multilateral negotiations can prevent a threat to European stability.

Moreover, it will further a European peace order. In my talks in Ottawa and elsewhere, it was repeatedly stated that the unification of the two German states is their undisputed right, but its implementation is not their concern alone because it touches directly and immediately on the fate and lives of their neighbors and the future of Europe in general.

The German and European history of this century can and must not be forgotten. German unification must therefore go hand in hand with respecting the vital security interests of all European states, with respecting the inviolability of the postwar European borders, as laid down in the Helsinki Final Act and in the system of European treaties. This calls today—this calls immediately—for unambiguous declarations.

German unification must respect the interests, rights and responsibilities of the Four Powers and must be the result of joint agreement.

And finally, German unification must preserve the social and other achievements and values of the GDR, and guarantee a peaceful and democratic development of Germany so that war can never again emanate from this soil. In this sense it is timely to plan and implement every further step on confederative structures, up to and including a German federal state, while strictly taking into account and preserving the interests of all European states. It is necessary that all CSCE states can join in backing every step to German unity. It is timely to rid Germany's neighbors of justified security concerns by

both German states—and the GDR is prepared to do this immediately—recognizing the Oder-Neisse border immediately and unconditionally through a joint legal act. It is timely to preserve the sensitive military-strategic balance of forces in Europe. A unification of the German states must bring advantages or disadvantages to neither of the two military-political alliances in Europe. For this it is necessary to find a model. We Germans cannot do this alone. And finally, at this point the indivisible connection between German unification, the transformation or dissolution of the military blocs, and the advancement of disarmament in all areas becomes clear.

One is therefore well advised to keep a cool head in the powerful current of national and international events. One Germany in one NATO, and this with nuclear deterrence and forward strategy, would put everything into question, would block the path to Europe's unity, and is therefore intolerable for either side.

Here, too, we Germans cannot find a lasting solution alone. For the GDR, further disarmament and an increase in international security therefore remain the supreme precepts. It includes making its internationally respected contribution toward conventional disarmament and trust-building measures, toward outlawing chemical weapons, toward open skies, and in all other areas.

At the same time, the internationally increased trust today permits progress to be made in greater strides. However, the precondition remains that NATO and the Warsaw Pact act with equally great responsibility and equal openness.

Allow me, honored ladies and gentlemen, to make a somewhat personal remark. When, over 15 years ago, I was entrusted with the function of foreign minister, Europe was preparing for a summit conference in Helsinki. Its results marked the start of peaceful cooperation, the like of which our continent had not hitherto known. The Helsinki Final Act and the subsequent documents have, despite difficulties, proved themselves as a path to coexistence. This encourages one to place these democratic principles and mechanisms in the service of the concerns of the Germans. Not a few of my partners in the talks have expressed the point that only in a German unity that comes about in a democratic way, and that will also have a democratic impact on the process of European unification, do they see the basis for the coexistence of the peoples of our continent, free from future political, military or economic threats. The overcoming of the division of Europe, a lasting peace—not German dominance—remain the aim. I am certain, honored deputies, that we wish to, and can, contribute to this truly historic process. Thank you. [applause]

* FRG Daily Profiles Opposition Parties

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15 Jan 90 p 6

["da"-signed report: "The Most Important New Parties and Movements in the GDR"—first paragraph is DIE WELT introduction]

[Text] The roots of the many new parties in the GDR can be traced to resistance against the ossified regime of years past. The opposition groups first flourished in the churches. At this stage in which the new orientation has barely begun, the various trends are greatly intermingled—which the new politicians view as a matter of course. On the whole, they all bear the imprint of their common experience with the dictatorial state and this, in turn, should make it easier for them to form coalitions with a view to the 6 May elections [since moved up to 18 March]—the more so since some of the major organizations have decided not to transform themselves into political parties (if that is permissible under the election law) and to opt for different forms of political action. The following list prepared by DIE WELT does not include any group that might properly be called a workers movement—and this is the only point at which we make mention of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], the principal political party in the GDR because it was "the party" up thus far from which even the former parties that made up the "national bloc" are now distancing themselves.

New Forum

New Forum is a 200,000-member movement deliberately opposed to constituting itself as a political party. Its goal is "public control and reform of intolerable political and economic conditions." NF has pushed hard for the dissolution of the state security apparatus. It is one of the large demonstration movements that has always adhered to the principle of non-violence. The movement's strength lies in its work with local groups. In many instances, NF has viewed the creation of new community structures as more important than the Volkskammer elections. In the industrial south, there is forming a Forum party that is breaking away from previously existing structures.

Aims: New Forum calls for radical disarmament, a truly cooperative world economic order and preservation of natural resources because "humanity as a whole is threatened by ecological ruin." It also calls for the protection of civil rights, for openness in all government operations and the administrative court system as well as the reestablishment of strong Land governments as a counterbalance to central authority. Free elections are a prerequisite for a democratic form of government but it is "day-to-day democratic behavior" that gives them meaning. Men and women should have equal opportunities and child rearing should be recognized as a regular occupation. As far as the economy is concerned, NF calls for disentangling the government-industry complex. It has stated its preference for social and private property

but the market must be controlled so that it does not violate the principles of "industrial or social democracy." On environmental issues, NF takes the position that "firm measures" should be taken against polluters. The existence of two German states is said to present the GDR with an opportunity to establish a contractual community up to and including confederation within the framework of European developments.

Leadership: The proclamation founding NF was signed Baerbel Bohley, a painter; Rolf Henrich, a lawyer; Jens Reich, a molecular biologist, and Hans-Jochen Tschiche of the Evangelical Academy. Others who have joined the leadership group include Heiko Lietz; Joachim Gauck, a priest; Reiner Rodenwald; Michael Goebel, and Hans Bahr. Ingrid Koeppe and Reinhard Schult represent NF at the Berlin Roundtable.

FRG Contacts: It will be easiest for non-socialist segments of the Greens as well as nonviolent antinuclear and pacifist groups to find common ground with NF. But those who sympathize with the CDU's [Christian Democratic Union] Ahlen program and the liberal ideas of the Kreisau Circle as well as Germans partial to Land traditions and the idea of decentralized authority may prove responsive to the NF program.

SPD

The SPD [Social Democratic Party], formerly known as the SDP, was born in early October, based on the hope of being able to redeem the "thus far unfulfilled ideal of a just and humane society" and the fear of the breakdown of the social safety network as well as the "sellout of economic and moral values." It views itself as carrying on the tradition of prewar social democracy and calls on the SED to "take the hand out of the party emblem and return it," i.e., Otto Grotewohl's hand that sealed the bargain that led to the forcible unification of the SPD and the KPD [Communist Party of Germany] in 1946. This could have far-reaching financial consequences, since the SPD's entire party treasury in the Soviet occupation zone was taken over by the SED. The SPD is by far the best organized opposition group. As yet, it includes hardly any working people among its members.

Aims: The SPD calls for a free and just society based on solidarity that "integrates itself into the cycle of nature in as nonviolent a way as possible." Human rights are to be guaranteed. The state is to organize itself in as decentralized a manner as possible, based as in the past on the five Laender with strong communal administrations. The people are to participate in the decisionmaking process by means of referendums and plebiscites. The establishment of an "ecological social market economy" calls for an end to "wasteful exploitation of resources, recycling and safe waste disposal" as well as cost-covering energy prices, a "reduction in soft coal use" and "gradual dismantling" of nuclear power plants. Following the abolition of the planned economy, the goal is to establish a structure consisting of different types of property, including support for small- and mid-sized enterprises

and codetermination by free labor unions. Social policies are to provide for assistance for self-help programs, guaranteed jobs, and free medical care. Jobs must become more accommodating to the family. German unity based on the right to self-determination must be integrated into a European framework.

Leadership: The SPD leadership includes Ibrahim Boehme, Stephan Hilsberg, Markus Meckel, Martin Gutzeit, Konrad Elmer, Sabine Leger, Gerd Doehling, Simone Manz, Arndt Noack, Steffen Reiche, Reinhard Hoeppner, Frank Bogisch, Angelika Barbe, and Rainer Hartmann. Boehme and Gutzeit represent the SPD at the Berlin Roundtable. Some of the above have gathered experience inside the SED.

FRG Contacts: Initially, the West SPD was critical of the creation of the party in the East but has now accepted it as its natural ally. Willy Brandt intends to support the East SPD's application for membership in the Socialist International. The SPD has close contacts to Scandinavian Social Democrats. The West German labor unions are also partners with the East SPD.

Demokratischer Aufbruch [Democratic Awakening]

Democratic Awakening had its principal origins in Christian-Socialist movements inside and vis-a-vis the church. At the latest on the occasion of its party congress in mid-December the adherents to a pragmatic social market economy closely tied to the FRG gained the upper hand. A minority group dedicated to the principles of social ecology has since switched to the SPD. The basic values espoused by Democratic Awakening are human rights, freedom, justice, and solidarity. The party believes that both socialism and Leninism have failed. The "search for a third way" has since been disavowed by a majority of the membership. Prior to the present split in its ranks, Democratic Awakening had about 10,000 members. With regard to "all vital issues" the party calls for "democratic codetermination."

Aims: At this time, the majority of the members of Democratic Awakening are engineers, farmers, town dwellers, and artisans who are calling for a German peace treaty that leads to the creation of a bloc-free, demilitarized confederation combined with internal and external disarmament. The party's detailed economic program is based on the principle of supply and demand; freedom for small business, codetermination in the workplace, worker ownership of industrial plants, social insurance programs and "protection for the weak" rather than guaranteed jobs. The party is opposed to uncontrolled accumulation of political or economic power and government censorship. It favors the creation of an administrative court system, the re-establishment of the traditional Laender and the protection of the environment. It also calls for the reform of the educational system freed from ideology, oriented toward humanism and the liberal arts. National culture and its regional characteristics is to be nurtured and enriched by contributions from other cultures.

Leadership: The initiators last September were Rainer Eppelmann, a pastor; Edelbert Richter, Ehrhart Neubert and Friedrich Schorlemmer. The latter as well as Christiane Ziller and Sonja Schroeter, a neurologist, have since moved closer to the SPD. Rostock lawyer Wolfgang Schnur now heads the party together with Eppelmann. Fred Ebeling represents Democratic Awakening at the Roundtable.

FRG Contacts: Some of the Democratic Awakening delegates felt that the CDU was gaining too much influence over the party's platform in that it was beginning to shape a party that made it possible for middle-sized entrepreneurs, chambers of industry and commerce as well as unionists with a market economy bent to find partners. Far from being fanatic about it, Democratic Awakening welcomes any and all supporters of German unity.

Demokratie Jetzt [Democracy Now]

The Democracy Now citizen's movement does not (yet) wish to become a regular political party. It had its origins in church circles and the protest against last year's fraudulent communal elections. Some of the members describe the movement as a gathering point of "Christians and Marxists." The events of last fall are described as a "socialist revolution." The movement is calling for "a state that is accountable to society." It is to be a social, free, pluralistic society under the rule of law. The rights of foreigners are to be explicitly protected. The movement's local organizations are dominated by intellectuals and white-collar workers. With regard to the German question the movement believes that the time is not yet ripe for unity. In many instances, the idea of unity is merely an expression of material desires; such emotions need to be neutralized.

Aims: Democracy Now favors a society of social justice and the rule of law without a politicized, bureaucratic command economy but based on overall government planning though not on "state dirigism." Private cooperatives and private economic property are to be permitted. There is to be strict separation of the legislative and executive branches of government. The GDR is said to be a wealthy nation that should share its wealth with the Third World, since the North-South conflict is expected to be the issue of the future. Stalinism has failed; but socialism has not. Western "consumerist mania" is to be shunned. On environmental issues, the movement calls for a rise in energy prices as a first step toward curbing the waste of energy. Prior to unification of the two German states, the FRG must change in the direction of social justice and lower unemployment. For its part, the GDR must be given the opportunity to build its own independent democratic tradition without outside interference. Democracy Now was the first of the new groups to call for an election coalition to oppose the SED.

Leadership: Democracy Now first went public last September by issuing a "Proclamation on Interfering in Our

Own Cause" signed by Hans-Juergen Fischbeck, a physicist; Ulrike Poppe; Konrad Weiss, a motion picture director, and mathematician Ludwig Mehlhorn who was removed from his post at the Economic University. Democracy Now's representative at the Roundtable is Klaus Ullmann.

FRG Contacts: The desire for close contact to reform movements in East Europe seems more important to Democracy Now than relations with groups in the FRG. If and when such contacts are sought, they might be established with left-wing elements in the Protestant church and all groups that favor the preservation of an independent GDR as a way of retaining the option for a socialist Germany.

CSU

Even Theo Waigl, the chairman of the Bavarian CSU [Christian Social Union], was surprised when the GDR CSU was founded on 6 January. He had not been informed of the organizing meeting that took place at St. Gabriel's in Wiederitzsch, a suburb of Leipzig. Some of the two dozen men and women who met there belonged to already existing groups; others came to Wiederitzsch as "foundation groups" for the purpose of establishing a CSU modeled after the Bavarian party of the same name. The party called itself CSU-FDU, restricting the CSU label to Saxony and Thuringia in view of the fact that it might not gain acceptance under that name in the north where it would operate under the already existing FDU (Free German Union) label. A decision on what to call the party in Saxony-Anhalt was postponed for the time being.

Aims: As far as one can tell at this writing, the East CSU will adopt the West CSU's basic platform with minor modifications specifically tailored to conditions in the GDR. The party founders gave that platform their full approval. The principal aims of the party are contained in a first leaflet published on 12 January. The party is for a "social market economy and against central planning; for a free and democratic order and against socialism; for unity of the fatherland and against division." It calls itself "socially conservative and democratic." Franz Josef Strauss is viewed as its principal role model. The CSU calls for re-establishment of the former Laender and transition to a federal structure as the prerequisite for German unity. It is hoping to win enough votes in future Landtag elections in Saxony and Thuringia to enable it to form Land governments there. The party has plans to set up a youth organization, patterned after the West German "Junge Union," in the near future. Chapters are to be established in all parts of the GDR, linking the CSU in the south to the FDU in the north.

Leadership: The 55-year-old physicist, Joachim Nowack, will be the party's acting chairman until the first party congress likely to be held in Dresden in February. Nowack has not been politically active previously but has closely watched political events in the FRG. Another

leading figure is 48-year-old Guenter Reisenweber, a gynecologist from Sonneberg in Thuringia, a toy manufacturing center.

FRG Contacts: The GDR CSU views the West German CSU as its natural partner. But before making a greater commitment, Munich party headquarters is waiting to see whether the GDR CSU's appeal among the population is strong enough and how the membership picture develops. Telephone approval from throughout the GDR, however, has been considerable.

Greens

In organizations such as the Environment Library and the Ark Network, the Greens have been arguing hard against the old system for years, protected for the most part by the church. In late November, the Green Party emerged from the seedbed of this League. Both will take part in the election, but the League will continue to operate as a movement. It is still principally concerned with the environment while the Green Party has also turned its attention to feminist and peace issues. It calls for social ownership of the means of production and has taken note of a "pollution of consciousness." Many people, the party says, falsely identify growth and prosperity as socially desirable objectives. In many areas of the GDR there are good reasons to cast one's vote with the ecology in mind.

Aims: The Greens are opposed to "growth that destroys the environment and wastes natural resources and against Stalinist-type attitudes toward human beings and the ecology." Their ideas are of socialist origin. Environmental policies must be based not on inadequate measures after the fact, but on adequate preventive measures. The Greens look upon themselves as part of a global and, in particular, a European movement. They have designated the districts of Leipzig, Dresden, and Cottbus as "disaster areas." Dresden and Wittenberg do not have adequate waste disposal facilities, they maintain. The old city centers must be restored immediately. The Greens are worried about becoming part of an "pushy society with a throwaway mentality." They are calling for advice on saving energy because the GDR uses the most energy in the world per capita. The huge electric power subsidies must be eliminated; the prices of "energy-intensive products such as cement, steel, meat and bread" must be increased. Most Greens do not view reunification "as part of the agenda." Ecological reform will prevent unemployment. Many officials should watch over compliance with environmental legislation.

Leadership: Carlo Jordan, an engineer and philosopher, has long been active in the Ark Network movement. Marianne Doerfler, a biologist, who has written a book entitled "Zurueck zur Natur?" [Back to Nature?], speaks on behalf of the Green Party. Dietmar Lucht and Matthias Platzek are among those who represent the party at the Roundtable. Vollrad Kuhn is one of the party spokespersons. Wolfgang Harich, the philosopher who spent many years in prison, has joined the party.

FRG Contacts: The West German Green Party is the only party to have been in touch with the opposition in the GDR for a number of years. Such contacts now have a major impact on the formation of legal political parties. The Green League has several close international contacts. The Green Party aims to enter into purely socialist partnerships among others.

CDU

The CDU was founded in 1945 by Jakob Kaiser, Heinrich Krone and Ernst Lemmer. From 1949 to 1989, the CDU slavishly followed the SED party line under Otto Nuschke and Gerald Goetting (who is still in prison at this time). CDU ministers were primarily responsible for the decline of the justice system and the postal service. The party also took part in the oppression of the church. It has some 100,000 members who viewed "the working class and its party as the chosen leader of our nation" until recently. In the meantime, the CDU has been taken over by politically untainted leaders. A large majority of those present at the most recent party congress voted in favor of close ties to the West German sister party. The CDU has a functioning party apparatus at its disposal but probably faces an investigation of the party finances.

Aims: In its policy statements, the CDU has returned to the Christian image of humanity and to Christian values in cultural life. The economy can only be revitalized through the establishment of an eco-social market economy and with the help of Western-financed investments. The government should limit itself to taxation, financial incentives and necessary ecological and social measures. The industrial combines should be dissolved. Many delegates called themselves "conservatives"; they would like to see the former five Laender reestablished. They believe in "justice, peace and the preservation of creation." But the protection of children is even more important than the protection of the unborn, for which reason family assistance payments must be increased. A great deal of attention is given to family policies generally. The CDU continues to cooperate with the SED in some deliberative bodies. It favors the unity of the nation as part of an all-European process. Confederated structures could well be established at an early date. The CDU wishes to have "absolutely" nothing to do with "nationalism."

Leadership: The CDU is headed by Lothar de Maiziere, a lawyer and vice president of the Evangelical synod, and General Secretary Martin Kirchner. Gerhard Baumgaertel, until recently lord mayor of Weimar, has joined the government as minister for construction. Gottfried Mueller, the editor in chief of GLAUBE UND HEIMAT [FAITH AND HOMELAND], a Thuringian publication, has been elected to a senior post in the new party presidium.

FRG Contacts: For the first time in many years, contact between the East and West branches of the CDU was re-established following last fall's political upheaval. CDU delegates attend each other's party congresses; but

there is far greater enthusiasm on the part of the East CDU. If the changes inside the CDU can take hold on the grass roots level, the party could become a major factor in economic reconstruction.

LDPD

The LDPD or Liberal Democratic Party is planning to hold its first party congress since the bloodless revolution in early February. It is expected that Manfred Gerlach, its long-time chairman and the present head of government, will announce his resignation on that occasion.

Last December, the central executive summarized the party's goals as follows: no new socialist models; the dignity, the rights and the freedoms of the individual must be protected; solidarity toward weak members of society; social and ecological market economy.

There should be a social safety net but there should also be "no limits to individual achievement." The goal is to achieve German unification via confederated structures within the borders of 1989. One of the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] reformers is Witho Holland, a member of the Volkskammer.

Holland, the 63-year-old lawyer's son, joined the LDPD in Jena in 1946. Following his legal studies, Holland became legal counsel of the Association of GDR Consumer Cooperatives.

As a member of the Volkskammer committee on commerce and services and the Volkskammer's citizens' appeals committee as well as vice chairman of the committee on industry, construction and transport since 1973, Holland became aware of the failures of the planned economy early on.

Bauernpartei [Peasant Party]

Like all the former bloc parties, the Peasant Party (DBD) unquestioningly followed the directives of the SED Politburo until last fall. DBD Chairman Guenter Maleuda, the president of the Volkskammer, has announced that its party congress will take place in late January.

Maleuda, who was born in 1931, is an agriculture specialist and has a bachelor of science degree in economics. He has been a member of the Volkskammer since 1981. The DBD wishes to focus on environmental issues, on maintaining the separate status of the GDR and on supporting the interests of small landholders. In addition, it would like to abolish the three separate ministries for fruits, vegetables, and potatoes. Maleuda has rejected suggestions to change the name of his party for reasons of preserving private property.

Wolfgang Kochan has been given the job of running the DBD election campaign. Kochan, an agronomist born in 1930, has been a farmer all his life. At the end of World War II, he was working the fields in Mecklenburg. After passing his agriculture examination, he studied economics and then joined the DBD.

He went into politics following a successful career as chairman of an agricultural producer cooperative in Neukuenkendorf near Angermuende. He moved from there into government and party jobs and ultimately assumed the party chairmanship for the Schwerin district in 1979.

NDPD

Following the bloodless revolution last fall, the National Democrats (NDPD) threw out their long-time chairman Heinrich Homann for "high-handed abuse of party finances" and elected Guenter Hartmann in his place. Under the latter's leadership, the party repeatedly called for creation of a German confederation and then just as resolutely for "two sovereign states." Following the fall events, Hartmann was criticized for acting on behalf of Soviet policies after the occupation of East Germany and for taking the positions he did at the time of the expropriation campaign in the Soviet Zone of Occupation. When he joined the FDJ in 1946 Hartmann was working as a surveyor in the land reform program. In 1951, he was given a seat and a vote on the NDPD central committee. Following Honecker's resignation, he suggested that his party support the election of Egon Krenz "as a matter of course." The NDPD's new party congress that is to define the party as a "force of the center" will be held next weekend. Other reports have it that the party does not intend to follow a "third way of socialism." The NDPD would like to see the former five Laender reestablished and would like to save on other administrative costs as well. An NDPD financial statement claims that the party received 21 percent of its funds from dues payments by its approximately 100,000 members and 79 percent from profits by party-owned enterprises in 1989.

United Left

The United Left describes itself as an alliance for "socialism based on freedom and democracy," combining elements of grass roots democracy with tendencies toward a soviet republic. The GDR should be preserved as an "anti-Fascist state," (says Wolfgang Wolf). In addition to adopting this line, the United Left has also been speaking in terms of confederation. This appears all the more surprising to many observers, since the United Left includes former SED members for the most part in addition to Trotskyites and autonomists.

The party program calls for popular controls on international economic cooperation and the reestablishment of labor union privileges. While Western capital could serve to promote the development of a socialist country, "managerial abuses" will not be tolerated under any circumstances. The United Left is one of the first of the new opposition movements to reject the recent declaration calling for an electoral coalition. This rejection prompted Ernst Gehrke to quit his post as United Left spokesman. New Forum and Democratic Awakening are also said to have run into great difficulties in trying to

establish a joint slate and election platform with the United Left. Thomas Klein is the United Left representative at the Roundtable.

Peace Initiative

The Initiative for Peace and Human Rights was founded in October 1985. It calls for disarmament and "demilitarization." Prior to last fall, its activities focused on helping political prisoners in the GDR.

The Initiative is opposed to all types of authoritarianism, to the glorification of violence and discrimination against minorities and foreigners. Its position is that the rule of law and the separation of powers are indispensable prerequisites for compliance with human rights.

The Initiative for Peace and Human Rights is represented at the Roundtable by Gerd Poppe. For a time, Lothar Pawliczak acted as its spokesman until it was discovered that he was a member of the SDP, which has since changed its name to SPD. Roundtable delegates may not belong to two different political parties. Pawliczak is part of the team that is drafting the SPD economic platform. Some of his Initiative colleagues have since joined him in finding a new political home in the SPD.

The Initiative, which operates in regional groups and issue-oriented working groups, favors a broad-based electoral coalition with other movements opposed to the SED-PDS. The working group issues include the election platform; constitution and electoral law; alternative social concepts and women's rights.

The Carnations

The Carnations held their organizing party congress in Berlin last weekend. They are a Marxist party that view itself as a gathering point for former communists; above all for former members of the SED who have left or were thrown out of the party. The Carnations still consider Karl Marx to be the fount of their political thinking. By turning Marx, Engels, and Lenin into veritable idols, however, the GDR has failed to develop their ideas onward. The Carnations favor a market economy because Marx did not criticize the market economy and the goods-and-money relationship "but the chaotic capitalist production methods connected to conditions in his time." Overall social planning must safeguard the needs of humanity, however.

Like the reformed SED-PDS, the Carnations are also building on the tradition of Rosa Luxemburg, Liebknecht, Trotsky, Kautsky, and Bernstein. The desired social ownership of the means of production can only be achieved with the help of works councils equipped with decisionmaking powers. The Carnations consider the term "comrade" as "obsolete" along with terms such as Marxism, communism and socialism. Carnations chairpersons Brigitte Kahnwald, Michael Czollek, and Reiner Bartscher say that they do not consider the SED as their "principal enemy" in the election campaign.

Republicans

According to Rainer Pagel, their Berlin fraction chairman, the Republicans intend to take part in the GDR elections. Franz Schoenhuber, the party chairman, says that the Republicans are currently organizing on a local basis. By their own estimate, the Republicans already have 500 card-carrying members in the GDR. This number apparently includes former members of the SED. "Not every former SED member is a scoundrel," Schoenhuber says. The party is to constitute itself formally in the GDR in early February. But GDR Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer has already let it be known that the Republicans "do not stand a chance" of obtaining party status.

Perhaps both the party itself and the former state security service overestimate the strength of the Republicans for different reasons of their own. At some demonstrations the distribution of materials has worked quite well. All the new and old parties are opposed to legalizing the Republicans because they are "right-wing radicals" or as the SED-planted reports in the GDR media have it because they are "fascists and neo-Nazis." A few days ago, Schoenhuber was also denied permission to enter the GDR because he was a member of the SS. Other members of the SS have been allowed to enter. From now on, the party chairman will try every week to enter the GDR after all.

CDU Proposal on Constitution Criticized

AU2302093090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Feb 90 p 1

[Uwe Stemmler editorial: "Turning Back"]

[Text] "Back to the Future" is the election slogan of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU]. Chairman Lothar de Maiziere has turned back and has meanwhile arrived in the year 1949. He suggested on behalf of his party that the GDR should adopt the Constitution of that year, to give the future government the "necessary and dignified bases for action." It is an undisputed fact that the GDR Constitution at that time was a masterwork. It considered experiences from history, ranging from the French Revolution to the Weimar Republic. For example, the right to work was already expressly guaranteed.

However, another 40 years have meanwhile passed during which the GDR people have achieved a lot on their own account and at substantial effort. New realities have been created that the former Constitution could not possibly have considered, such as social ownership of the most important means of production; or cooperative ownership in rural areas, which is necessary for our food supply; or free health care; or the right to housing.... The rights and powers of trade unions are anchored in the Constitution that is still valid. Do we want to reduce this to the level of 1949? It is typical in this connection that the CDU is the only party to reject the draft law on trade unions that trade unionists have so urgently demanded.

The existing Constitution is no longer in line with the current requirements; there is no doubt about that. All democratic parties and movements are working intensively at a new one. In doing so, they will certainly also consider the Constitution of 1949. However, the point is not the old Constitution, but a new one. The slogan formulated by the CDU—"Back to the Future"—should not be a return to the past....

Protest Held Against Capitalist Reunification

LD2202195890 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1844 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Late this evening thousands of people marched from Berlin's Alexanderplatz to the Lustgarten to demonstrate for socially secure conditions and against capitalist reunification. They were responding to an appeal by New Forum, the United Left, the Independent Women's Union, the Carnations, and the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB]. Banners proclaimed: "Citizens be vigilant, we are not a colony yet" and passersby were asked to join the march.

In the rally in the Lustgarten park, representatives of various left-wing groups made speeches. [passage omitted] Making an unexpected appearance to prolonged applause, Party for Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor Gysi told the crowd: "As has often been the case historically, the right wing has established itself while the left wing is very disunited. But what we want jointly is much more important than what divides us."

The demonstration broke up after two hours.

Council of Ministers on Sale of Foreign Goods

AU2202215690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 21 Feb 90 p 3

[ADN/ND report: "Better Supply, Without Subsidies"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN/ND)—The GDR Council of Ministers has resolved principles on the sale of goods and services of firms from the FRG, Berlin (West), and other countries in the GDR for GDR marks and Deutsche marks. The products are to be primarily sold for GDR marks and could be imported by commercial enterprises of all types of ownership. The commercial enterprise is responsible for fixing the retail selling price. There are no subsidies or supporting measures for losses.

Council of Ministers Presents Trade Bill

LD2202162390 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1402 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today the GDR Council of Ministers submitted a draft law on the founding and operation of private enterprises to the People's Chamber for further discussion. Light Industry Minister Dr. Gunter Halm announced at the government news conference that under this draft law, each citizen has the possibility

of exercising an economic activity insofar as it does not violate existing legislation. It also governs the founding of private enterprises as partnerships or joint stock companies. At the same time, the bill includes a method for reverting enterprises that were transferred to public ownership in 1972 to their former status under the property law.

The basic principle of the draft for a new trade law, it was said, is full freedom of trading. Every GDR citizen with a relevant qualification and skill is entitled to carry out a trade.

'Expropriated' Owners Want Property Back

AU2302092890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 16 Feb 90 p 7

[ADN report: "Community of Interests Wants Property in GDR"]

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The "Community of Interests of the Enterprises Expropriated in the Eastern Zone" (IOB) has called for the return of property in the GDR. However, the settlement of this question must not endanger "the reunification of the two German states," Kurt Fiedler, chairman of the economic organization of the "Alliance of Central Germans," stressed before journalists in Bonn on 15 February. The IOB proceeds on the assumption that expropriated property should be given back to the former owner. If a takeover is not possible, enterprises might be transformed into joint stock companies, while shares might also be given to the former owner or his heirs. According to Fiedler, it is important to limit the handling of this matter and to rule out later claims of ownership.

Justice Ministry on Ownership Questions

AU2302092690 East Berlin DER MORGEN
in German 17-18 Feb 90 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Rights of Users and Tenants Are Secure; Statement by the Justice Ministry on Ownership Questions"]

[Text] In line with the principles of private international law, real estate and buildings that are located on the territory of a state are subject entirely to that state's jurisdiction.

Changes in values and goals of the society must not call into question the legal consequences of laws, contracts, and resulting decisions by courts and administrative organs that refer to the use of real estate and buildings. The validity and legal consequences of the Constitution, the laws, and other legal stipulations of the GDR cannot be abolished generally and, above all, not retroactively.

This also applies to laws on the basis of orders by the Soviet military administration in the former Soviet occupation zone on the land reform and on the establishment of new private property of the peasants. The private ownership by GDR peasants of land, buildings,

and inventory, which developed as a result of the land reform, developed legally according to national and international law and is valid private ownership. If laws are harmonized in the course of the unification of the two German states, this legal condition, which has been developed historically and is largely accepted by the citizens, must be taken into consideration.

The GDR Civil Code, which has been valid since 1976, has largely secured the rights of both tenants and personal users of land. In the GDR, every tenant enjoys comprehensive protection against the canceling of his lease. The lease can be canceled against his will only via a complaint to a court or for reasons set down by law.

Usufructuary rights to land for recreation are basically unlimited in terms of time. If a weekend house or a garage was built on the piece of land as a result of the usufructuary right, the right to use this piece of land cannot be withdrawn and can be canceled against the will of the person in question only by a court decision.

These protective regulations for tenants of apartments and users of land, which have been set down in the Civil Code, are elementary social rights of the citizens. They also apply in case of a change of the owner (Article 124, Civil Code). It is the principle of a law-governed state that every citizen may claim legal protection by the courts in order to safeguard his rights.

National Citizens' Movement on Policies

AU2202215590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 20 Feb 90 p 3

[ND report: "No Successor of National Front"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The National Citizens' Movement is not the continuation of the former National Front, Karl Hennig, press spokesman of the movement, said in a statement submitted to NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on 19 February. The more than 1,400 citizens' committees that have been established so far were newly founded,

legitimized by grass-roots democracy, and registered as national citizens movement in the Interior Ministry on 1 February 1990.

'Unreserved Approval' for Gorbachev Statement

LD2202151590 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1448 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The latest statements by Gorbachev and Shevardnadze on the German question were received with great interest by the GDR Government, said Minister Meyer today at a government news conference in Berlin. The views of the Soviet politicians met with unreserved approval. They demonstrated the USSR's determination to support a gradual solution of the German question that guarantees security and stability in Europe.

Particular attention was paid to the clear support for the graduated plan for German unity put forward by Prime Minister Modrow.

Closer Ties Established With South Korea

LD2202154390 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1430 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Steps for the expansion of contacts between the GDR and the Republic of Korea have been undertaken in the past few months. This has been effected between diplomatic representatives of both sides in various countries, GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman Dr. Denis Ruh stated to ADN today.

In the past few years, economic, scientific-cultural and sporting relations had been established and developed on a nongovernmental level to mutual interest and benefit. At the beginning of this year, direct postal and telecommunications traffic began. The next step was the establishment of direct relations between the GDR Chamber of Foreign Trade and the South Korean trade promotion society KOTRA [Korea Trade Promotion Corp] with the bilateral opening of missions in Berlin and Seoul. At the same time, the GDR proposed the establishment of consular relations.

USSR's Burlakov on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD2202184890 Budapest MTI in English
1812 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 22 (MTI)—The Hungarian-Soviet inter-governmental agreement on the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary is likely to be signed in a few weeks.

Colonel-General Matvey Burlakov, commander of the southern army group and government commissioner in charge of Soviet troops stationed in the territory of the Republic of Hungary, has given an interview to MTI on the subject.

Burlakov said that the decision on the troop withdrawal was no surprise to the Soviet military leadership, because the Moscow administration has dealt with the reduction of foreign-based military forces since 1985 as part of the novel way of political thinking.

A major step along this line was the decision taken by the Soviet Government in 1988 on a significant, unilateral reduction of Soviet Armed Forces. Accordingly, last year 22 units were removed from Hungary, including the 13th tank division, more than 10,000 soldiers and substantial amounts of technical devices and weapons.

The Hungarian-Soviet talks about the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops is expected to cover a wide range of issues, such as the stages and dates of the pullout, as well as solutions to property and legal problems.

The draft of the relevant accord has been completed, and the detailed schedule of troop withdrawals and the transportation of material-technical devices is shortly to be drawn up.

The units constituting the basis of the combative force of the southern army group, namely a tank division, missile units, airborne units and other troops, would be removed in the first stage, and the remainder of the troops and the material and technical devices in the second. At the request of the Debrecen municipal council, however, a concrete deadline—end of May—has already been set for withdrawing the Soviet airborne unit stationed at the airport near the town.

The commander stressed that the preparation of pullout was a particularly complicated task. The southern army group has not only 50,000 troops but also hundreds of thousands of tonnes of military equipment, including hundreds of tanks, troop carriers, technical devices and arms.

Mr Burlakov denied that the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary imposed high costs on the Hungarian Government. He said this view might have emerged because of inadequate information. The costs of maintaining the southern army group are covered by the Soviet state, Mr Burlakov said. The southern army group maintains close business contacts with a number of Hungarian firms and covers its purchases from the funds granted by the Soviet

ministry of defence or pays under foreign trade deals. In some cases, accounting is even unfavourable for the Soviet side. For instance, the electric energy imported from the Soviet Union is available at the Hungarian prices which are much higher than the Soviet ones.

Colonel General Burlakov reconfirmed that during the run-up to the Hungarian parliamentary elections the Soviet troops would not hold manoeuvres and the soldiers would not leave their barracks. The manoeuvres of the units had been postponed and the exercises of the columns of military vehicles suspended, he said.

FIDESZ on Withdrawal

LD2202153290 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Only a government formed after free elections may hold discussions about the withdrawal of Soviet troops. For this reason FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] protests against an agreement being reached on this issue before 25 March. This was announced by Viktor Orban at today's news briefing of the Young Democrats. In the event of this occurring, the organization would not consider an agreement thus concluded to be binding in itself. FIDESZ would accept an agreement of this nature only if foreign troops were to leave Hungary by 16 June this year.

The organization, incidentally, can field nearly 90 individual candidates in the elections. This means that people will be able to vote for the FIDESZ lists in the capital and in all the counties.

The news briefing actually seemed more like a reception because the young politicians wanted to meet the invited journalists and talk to them about their continued cooperation.

Taxis Offer Free Rides to Border

LD2202123990 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] If you are aware of the current level of taxi charges, then you will be amazed at the grand gesture of self-sacrifice when you hear this report by (Klara Babitsky).

[Begin (Babitsky) recording] We reported on a number of occasions that the leaders of the Szekesfehervar urban council and the parties functioning in the county seat have voiced their disappointment over the fact that the Soviet units temporarily stationed here are not being reduced in their town by as much as a single man or a single weapon, even though plans have already been made for using the sites and buildings. Now the Szekesfehervar tourist taxi drivers have made an offer on this matter. In essence, having learned from the press that one of the obstacles to the withdrawal is that there are insufficient means of transportation, these drivers offer to convey completely free of charge the Soviet civilian personnel staying in Szekesfehervar, together with their

belongings, as far as Zahony [on the Hungarian-Soviet border]. As they write in an open letter published in the local press: In this way we want to express our friendly, helpful intentions toward the Soviet people. Since 21 February, already many people in Szekesfehervar have taken advantage of the tourist taxi drivers' offer. As far as I know, the Soviet side has so far not reacted to the offer. [end recording]

Somogyi on Chemical Weapons, Defense

*LD2202133790 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1300 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Foreign Affairs State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi stressed at the Geneva disarmament conference that Hungary is now ready to observe the provision of the chemical weapons agreement that is in the process of being worked out. He will also assent to reciprocal control of Hungarian military, industrial, and economic activity noted in the agreement. Somogyi also pointed out that the defense capability of Hungary or of the Warsaw Pact will not weaken as a result of the reform of the armed forces and the Soviet troop withdrawal. These steps, he said, will precisely contribute to creating stability in the new international situation.

Further on Disarmament

*LD2202165290 Budapest MTI in English
1530 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Geneva, Feb 22 (MTI)—Speaking at the Geneva disarmament conference on Thursday, Ferenc Somogyi, under-secretary of state at the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stressed that the improvement in relations between the great powers and in European conditions were most manifest in the process of the Vienna talks on conventional arms and troops reduction in Europe.

With their unprecedented pace and intensity, the negotiations clearly prove that genuine political intentions and commitment are certain to yield results.

The Hungarian Armed Forces are also undergoing comprehensive changes so as to be better adjusted to the defence requirements and economic potential of the Republic of Hungary.

Somogyi pointed out that the army reform and Soviet troop withdrawal would in no way weaken the defence capabilities of Hungary and the Warsaw Treaty, but would rather contribute to creating stability in accordance with the new international situation.

The Hungarian delegates provided comprehensive information about these questions at the Vienna forums, including the recent military doctrine seminar.

The military data revealed at that seminar in the spirit of military openness were now supplemented by Somogyi with comprehensive information on the Hungarian

Army, which he said he would present to the conference in form of a working document.

This document includes the financial sources available to the Ministry of Defense in 1990, in compliance with the relevant reporting system of the United Nations Organization.

Somogyi welcomed the fact that, alongside the European disarmament negotiations, the Soviet-American disarmament talks are beginning to form a favourable picture.

In connection with the multilateral disarmament talks, Somogyi said, "it seems that the viability of multilateral disarmament can best be proved by the speedy elaboration and conclusion of the chemical weapons convention.

"The Hungarian Government has moved more than once to prove its commitment to the cause of a complete, general ban on chemical weapons and the destruction of stockpiles. It also wishes to bring about an early conclusion of a ban treaty by all constructive means at its disposal.

"This is shown by the unilateral Hungarian initiative to comply with the planned provisions of the chemical weapons convention already under preparation.

"In this context, Hungary would be ready to make a declaration on the production and export-import turnover of chemicals, as well as to submit—on a reciprocal basis—the declaration to verification, together with data on military, industrial and trading activities relating to the convention."

Ferenc Somogyi presented the relevant working document to the session of the disarmament conference.

Szuos Visits Poland, Affirms 'Friendship'

*LD2202132890 Budapest MTI in English
1247 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Warsaw, February 22 (MTI)—On the first leg of his official programme in Warsaw, Matyas Szuos, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, held a discussion with Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki on Thursday.

Meeting the Polish prime minister at his residence, Mr Szuos, accompanied by Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy, stressed that whatever happens in the two countries, Hungarian-Polish friendship based on historic traditions will continue.

The discussion also covered the issue of German reunification.

Afterwards, Szuos met Solidarity president Lech Walesa at the Warsaw center of the organization's parliamentary group, making him the first leading statesman from Eastern Europe to confer with the leader of Solidarity.

In the afternoon, Matyas Szuros is to hold talks with his host, President Wojciech Jaruzelski, in the presidential palace.

He will then attend a gala dinner before facing the international press.

Meets Mazowiecki

*LD2202213290 Budapest MTI in English
1550 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Warsaw, February 22 (MTI)—Hungary supports all moves aimed at guaranteeing Poland's western borders, including, if needs be, Poland's participation at the relevant talks, Matyas Szuros, interim president of Hungary, said during his talks with Polish Prime Minister Mazowiecki in Warsaw on Thursday.

Mazowiecki said the traditional friendship between the two countries should remain unaffected by the shift in system and the prevailing order in the two countries.

Poland and Hungary have played a pioneering role in a number of international organizations, such as the joint proposal on CMEA reform and the promotion of the Helsinki process, he said.

Mazowiecki briefed Szuros about his government's position on Polish participation in administering the German settlement plan.

Returns to Budapest

*LD2302022490 Budapest MTI in English
2255 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Budapest, February 22 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, who paid a one-day official visit to Poland on Thursday at the invitation of Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish Republic, returned to Budapest in the evening.

On board of the airplane, Mr Szuros told journalists that his visit demonstrated the traditional Hungarian-Polish friendship and contributed to the broadening of relations between the two countries. The Warsaw talks were aimed at exchanging experience and had an exploratory nature. Mr Szuros said both countries shared the interest of maintaining continuous relations even after the change in system.

Cultural Agreement With Austria Signed

*AU2202131490 Budapest MTI in English
1753 GMT 20 Feb 90*

[Text] Budapest, 20 Feb (MTI)—Ferenc Glatz, Hungarian minister of culture and education, and Erhard Busek, Austrian minister of science and research, signed an agreement on bilateral scientific, educational and cultural cooperation in Budapest on February 20.

Under the agreement, Hungary will be granted an annual 10 million schillings for five years for the purpose of

expanding and fostering relations with Austria. The sum is to finance the exchange of professors and students, academic research, educational and cultural seminars and congresses, the establishment of direct links between cultural institutions, including museums and libraries, and joint research projects.

The 50 million schillings will be deposited in Hungary, and allocated by an independent advisory body, in keeping with the interests of both countries.

Mr Busek, who is member of the preparatory committee of the 1995 world expo, said the agreement was connected with preparations for the world expo as well.

The 10 million schillings, envisaged for this year, will be distributed by the joint committee on March 8.

Council of Europe Committee Visits Budapest

*LD2102205990 Budapest MTI in English
1451 GMT 21 Feb 90*

[Text] Budapest, February 21 (MTI)—Hungary is proceeding towards pluralistic democracy in settled and peaceful manner, it was stated by members of the committee for parliamentary and mass relations of the Council of Europe parliamentary assembly during their visit to Budapest from February 20-21.

They said they had been greatly impressed by a meeting with students of Budapest secondary schools who appear to guarantee the successful transformation of Hungary into a democratic state.

Answering questions, the committee members confirmed that Hungary would be granted full Council of Europe membership this year as it meets the conditions set to admission: observing human rights and creating pluralistic democracy through the March elections.

In a meeting with Hungarian party officials, the guests explained how the political parties are financed in the West European states, discussed the preparations for the Hungarian parliamentary elections and informed the representatives of the parties as yet in opposition about the various Council of Europe conventions.

MSZP Election Spot Airs on TV

LD1602113590

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 2045 GMT on 14 February broadcasts a five-minute party political spot by the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. The broadcast opens with tranquil biblical scenes, the Holy Land and the Dead Sea, with the unidentified announcer noting that he visited these places at Easter. He goes on to say that there is precious little real peace in the world or in people's souls today. Over video of unrest in the Romanian city of Timisoara and audio of gunfire, the announcer goes on to say that he was in Timisoara on Christmas Eve. Somehow, things are in a bit of a mess, he says.

However, Western and Northern Europe looks on our endeavors with sympathy and are advancing us, if not so much money so far, trust and confidence for the new Hungarian undertaking.

The film turns to an unidentified entrepreneur, who seems to be checking something from a ladder, who explains why he is a candidate for the HSP list: Because the HSP ensures greater possibilities for entrepreneurs, and is fighting for equality of chances and also to provide a solution to people's social worries.

The speaker then embarks on a road of personal reflections. He has been a socialist for 47 years and is not ashamed of the fact that he still has a Communist strain running in him as he did in his political past: He did not believe in the Tajk trial; he supported Imre Nagy from 1953, and then the Petofi Circle; he did not really believe in the 1968 invasion; he was sacked from the radio in 1976. In the market the other day, somebody stopped him and said: "I might vote for you, if you were not on this list." He says perhaps people should not believe in him, or parties—including his own—but should reflect that 25 March should not be a day of judgement, but a day of uprightness, security, and balance.

MSZP Presidium Decides on Election List

AU2202160890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 19 Feb 90 pp 1, 5

[Unattributed report: "Pozsgay Is Heading the MSZP (Hungarian Socialist Party) List"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] decided on the party's national election list in its session held on 17 February. The list is headed by Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, MSZP Chairman Rezso Nyers, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, interim President Matyas Szuros, and Premier Miklos Nemeth. The Presidium also decided on the ethical and disciplinary norms to be followed during the elections. The Presidium proposed that the parties on the national list hold another round of talks after 24 February on solving the urgent problems facing the nation. The Presidium also discussed a concept of self-governing law submitted by Bela Fabry. Our correspondent asked the leading figures on the party's election list to formulate the ideas and program points that suit their personality the best and on which they would build their own election program.

Rezso Nyers: The points in the MSZP program that determine Hungary's place in Europe are the closest to me. I think that Hungary's role in European and world policy is changing. Previously, it was also my favorite idea that Hungary should belong to Europe by playing the role of a bridge between the eastern and western parts of the continent. This means that, among the existing flow of ideas, democratic socialism could play a mediating role between East and West. As an economic politician, the idea of a socialist-type mixed economy is close to my heart. I am convinced that this idea could contribute to a better use of Hungary's spiritual and

financial resources because the mixed forms of property are definitely adequate for this. A national economy advancing on the road of modernization cannot rely on only one form of property today or in the foreseeable future. Ever since my youth, my third favorite idea, which I also believe in today, has been that social changes and economic activity should serve man and we should engage in politics for and feel solidarity especially with people who need defense and support, that is, the masses.

Imre Pozsgay: My ideas are constantly hovering around democracy. From the MSZP program, I would like to point out the basic principle that systematic progress should take place in both areas of democracy. In other words, the country should have a strong constitutional parliamentary order based on a multiparty system, where the deputies elected by the citizens create the legislative body and the government in accordance with the wishes of their electors, and on the basis of the principle of the division and balance of power. At the same time, I also believe that there is another extremely important aspect of democracy where people are striving toward self-determination in institutionalized communities; this is self-government. I consider the democratic socialist society based on a connection between self-government and parliamentary democracy to be my major goal, a society in which national interests and the norms of a democratic attitude are asserted.

Gyula Horn: From the MSZP program, I would stress something that has always been my major goal: We must do everything for the people's prosperity. I have always been guided by this objective in my activities so far. I regard this as my mission, as well as to see to it that things that proved to be bad and mistaken in past decades should never be repeated. At the same time, we must do our utmost to guarantee Hungary's real independence and self-determination.

Matyas Szuros: In our, my program, I regard the recreation of our Europeanism as the major task. This comprehensive task can be summed up in four words: Magyardom, Europeanism, democracy, and leftism. I visualize the creation of a free and democratic Hungary at the end of the 20th century in a way that mixes the values of a bourgeois democracy and democratic socialism. However, in this joint construction, we must constantly strive to have calm in the country and also to guarantee the security of existence for the people most in need, and all this should be coupled with adequate public safety.

MSZP Offers Proposals on Press Freedom

LD2202221590 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Interview with Hungarian Socialist Party spokesman Viktor Polgar by unidentified reporter on the "News-reel" program "this afternoon"—recorded]

[Text] [Polgar] The Presidium arrived at a decision on 21 February, the essence of which is to present a proposal package to those concerned. The main idea of the proposal is that the county papers should operate free from any party political influence. In every county, a body consisting of a few members, a few generally respected people, should be created, and they would appoint the editor in chief. The editorial staff would have the right of veto over the appointment of the editor in chief.

[Reporter] So the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party] is giving up its county papers. (?But), at the same time, the publishing enterprise remains, and the money is at the publishers.

[Polgar] The party does wish to retain the publishing enterprises, but it would be this supervisory committee's or the editorial staff's prerogative to decide which publisher they wish to have print their papers. Here it is a question of freedom from political influence.

[Reporter] The saying goes that whoever has money calls the tune.

[Polgar] Yes, that is why the Presidium's proposed solution is interesting, for while it wishes to keep the ownership rights to the papers, it does not wish to intervene in any way, either directly or indirectly, in the management of the paper, its political line, or the work of the editorial staff.

Homeland Party Aims Political Broadcast

LD2202165190

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0520 GMT on 22 February carries a five-minute party political broadcast of the Homeland Party.

Homeland Party Chairman Istvan Utasi discusses the party's economic plans. He says the party wants economic recovery and advance based on self-reliance. He stresses that the entire nation must be involved. The joint assessment of the total national assets must be carried out; there must be a universal stocktaking; there must be an immediate halting of the sale of real estate, of valuable means of production, he notes. He says every economic unit must be converted into a share company. Half the value at the time of nationalization must be given back from state assets to the owners, up to at least 10 percent of present shares, on the condition that they will undertake immediate investment to the same amount in foreign currency and that for five years they may not take out their capital or their shares. Twenty-five percent of shares should remain in state ownership; in the case of the top 100 enterprises, this should be 45 percent. In other respects, the policy should guarantee full independence to the economy, he says. Budget expenditures must be pared down to the basic minimum; expendable state institutions must be abolished; the personnel of the remaining institutions must be reduced

to one-fifth, with the exception of education and the army, but they too must be modernized.

Concerning the international economy, Utasi says the number of foreign representations must be reduced by 80 percent and their main task, economic activity, must be performed by the department of foreign trade. Foreign trade must be made entirely free; private initiative and economy must be given free scope. Foreign capital must be given a five-year tax concession for the creation of a new production plant and energy base. Government should take up further foreign loans only with a two-thirds majority assent of the National Assembly. The domestic market must be revived, he stresses, and bank deposit interests must be reduced. The forint must be made convertible within three to four years. All efforts must be made to join the EC. We have to make the world's leading economic powers understand that we cannot pay back the existing loans, not even the interest on them, he notes. Our capital and interest debts must be settled by political means.

As for the human factor, only the income of the technical intelligentsia is justified to considerably increase. Vocational teaching must be made compulsory to the age of 18. The exodus of young technologists must be stopped. Domestic capital must be directed toward enterprise; taxes that make enterprise difficult must be curbed. Sharing the common burden must be proportional, but it must be heaviest for those whose performance is poor and who amass idle capital. Unemployment benefits should cease; there will always be work and every citizen should take his share in it, Utasi says. He concludes by saying agriculture must be strengthened first and foremost, and food production must not be allowed to decline.

Antall on HDF National Minority Concept

AU1102215990 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 3 Feb 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Hungarian Democratic Forum Chairman Jozsef Antall by Ivan Ersek; place and date not given: "The Population Is Justified in Complaining About the Lack of Moral Compensations—Jozsef Antall on the HDF National Minority Concept, Demonstrations, and Justice Without Injustices"]

[Excerpts] Even if people interested in politics have already formulated an idea about the parties in Hungary, they still have only limited knowledge about the position of these parties on certain topical issues. We asked Jozsef Antall about this prior to his visit to the United States.

[Ersek] It seems from the news coming from Romania that the "removal" of the dictator hardly leads automatically to settling the problems facing the Hungarian national minority living there. What is the policy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] in the post-Ceausescu situation to help implement the national minority demands in Romania?

[Antall] As is well known, the HDF has been the pioneer of solving the national minority issue in Romania. We called the attention of Parliament and of the government to the importance of this issue even before Karoly Grosz's talks in Arad, and then we protested against the former MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] general secretary's negotiating methods and political attitude. On 2 April 1989, I myself wrote a memorandum-type letter to the Parliament president and some government members in which I mentioned that the Romanian national reflexes always began to function whenever Romania's national prestige was endangered. Therefore, we should count on the fact that the general dissatisfaction with Ceausescu would lead to the beginning of organized opposition, and Ceausescu's fall was expected within a year so we should prepare politically for the post-Ceausescu period. The case of Laszlo Tokes and the uprising in Temesvar advanced this process. However, even if democracy emerges in Romania, this in itself will not solve the national minority problems. Democracy is the assertion of the majority's will. For the Hungarians to receive the rights of an "ethnic group," they should be preferred as a national minority. [passage omitted]

[Ersek] To what extent can the HDF contribute to this?

[Antall] Soon after the Romanian revolution had broken out, a HDF delegation held negotiations with members of the new Romanian leadership. I also brought the subject to the attention of the European roundtable held in Vienna in January, and also discussed this during my talks with President Mitterand in Budapest. On this occasion, we handed over a memorandum on behalf of the HDF, in which we asked President Mitterand to use France's traditionally good relations with Romania to influence the Romanian Government in the direction of solving the national minority issues in the spirit of European integration. Europe's largest national minority should be granted autonomous self-administrative rights, including the use of their mother tongue, comprehensive education in their mother tongue at all levels, including university studies, and freedom of association and independent political organization. Anyone among the members of the state founding nation who moves to an area largely inhabited by the national minorities should take into consideration the consequences of this decision, including the use of the language of the local population. [passage omitted]

Democratic Forum To Consider Coalition

LD0902225990 Budapest MTI in English
1934 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 9 (MTI)—The standpoint of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) is that it will not exclude the possibility of a coalition with any party that was a member of the opposition round table. However, decision on the subject is to be taken by the Forum only after the elections, said Jozsef Antall, president of HDF, at a press briefing in Budapest on Friday.

Asked whether from the point of view of the country's governability a small or large coalition would be desirable, he said it would be too early to be thinking about his now, but both would be possible according to the results of the parliamentary elections.

To a different question, he said that in view of its political philosophy, the HDF is close to the independent Smallholders' Party, the Christian Democratic People's Party, and a renewed people's party that is built on the traditions of the Petofi Party of 1956. He added, however, that no far-reaching conclusions on a would-be cooperation should be drawn from this statement.

In connection with the trip by a HDF delegation to the United States, Mr Antall said the talks with representatives of the American political, economic and social life had been of vital importance, politically speaking.

Democratic Forum Program Principles Detailed

LD1302090190

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1815 GMT on 12 February carries a 21-minute report on the election program on behalf of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, which is referred to throughout as Magyar Demokrata Forum.

An unidentified spokesman says the Hungarian Democratic Forum's program has been published. He says the principles on which the program is based are to make culture and knowledge at the highest possible level accessible to all, to ensure the control of the state through representation, to establish a strong market-based economy, to achieve economic and political independence, to uphold high moral standards in private and public life, to reinforce the authority of the family, and to achieve a united Hungary through these principles.

The spokesman then adds that the Democratic Forum is formed by more than 400 organizations throughout the country, each with their own program. He says the strength of the Forum and the salvation of Hungary rest with these local programs and with the honest efforts of ordinary people to fulfill them.

There follows details of these local programs, with different recorded remarks on the same. A man from the Many Hungarian Democratic Forum says, "We set up an independent panel to carry out a survey of previous land ownership. The Many Hungary Democratic Forum feels the former property rights of the village, of the Reformed and Catholic Church communities, and of the schools must again be safeguarded." A participant from Nagyugmand says, "We made proposals for the future use of former party headquarters." A man from Siklos notes, "We believe democratic changes reach the countryside with much delay." A man from Racheve says, "We are sending our greetings to the Romanian revolution, and to the formation of the Democratic Federation of Magyars in Romania on behalf of the Hungarian Democratic Forum in Racheve." He later stressed, "We

sincerely believe and hope the use of the Hungarian language, which until then was banned, will again be possible." He further notes the Forum's desire for freer travel between Hungarian and Romanian towns.

An unidentified Forum member says there are nearly 100 local forum publications and proceeds to quote one, "According to rumors from the right and left, after the free elections the Hungarian Democratic Forum will enter into a coalition with the Hungarian Socialist Party, or heaven forbid, with the Hungarian Socialist Workers party. No. The mere thought of this possibility causes pain to the majority of people. It is now our turn, the turn of the young, free Hungarians of European spirit; the turn of Christian Democrats who could never be submerged, who never knew compromise, and who never succumbed to the wrong ideology." He notes that the Forum will not make a contract with any party for its survival. The program concludes with music.

Szuross Receives HDF, SDP Leaders

LD2102205690 Budapest MTI in English
1454 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 21 (MTI)—Matyas Szuross, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, met Jozsef Antall, president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), and Anna Petrasovits, president of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) of Hungary, in the parliament building, Budapest, on Wednesday.

Talks were held on issues of peaceful transition and the arrangements for a new meeting of parties.

People's Party Airs Political Broadcast

LD1402031390

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 2000 GMT on 13 February carries a five-minute "party political broadcast" on behalf of the Hungarian People's Party.

An unidentified speaker says the world is watching to see how Hungary observes the rules of democracy. He notes that the Hungarian People's Party believes the people are capable of lifting the country's economy and culture to the European level. He says the party opposes all attempts to incite generations against one another; it sees the family as the most important building block of society. He notes that the party wants to see towns and villages independent with democratically elected self-governments, which should receive an ever greater proportion of the state property. He says the party encourages small-scale and medium-scale private business, noting the market should select among them; let merit prevail. He stresses that after decades of left-wing and right-wing dictatorships, the party wants the interests of Hungarians to have priority and says Hungarians will no longer be lackeys of foreign powers.

Economic advance is impossible without curbing inflation, he notes, and the party wants to link monetary

reform with the reform of ownership. He says only this will prevent the further impoverishment of pensioners and families.

Political Broadcast by Independence Party

LD1402190290

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0530 GMT on 14 February broadcasts a five-minute party political broadcast by the Hungarian Independence Party (HIP)

An unidentified voice introduces HIP Deputy Chairman Ferenc Forgacs, sentenced to death in 1956 and a political prisoner for six years. Forgacs says the HIP wants a human-faced, honest society, providing protection, security, and freedom for citizens. It believes that the clearest socialist principles for this are to be found in the Gospels.

The HIP is a party with a bourgeois outlook he adds, and it considers the presence of foreign capital in the Hungarian economy necessary. It wants to assure that this does not place further burdens on the population. It wants an educational system that is modern in spirit and steeped in moral values. The HIP counts on Hungarians abroad to help realize its program.

"The Hungarian Independence Party struggles also to ensure that the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary should leave our country's territory by autumn of this year," he adds. The empty Soviet dwellings would provide homes for thousands of homeless Hungarians, the vacated Soviet hospitals would help to improve the health service, to say nothing of all the land used at present for maneuvers. He then says: "The annual provision of the circa 70,000 Soviet troops stationed in our country at present amounts to some 1 milliard billion exchange-rate forints. To this day we do now know the method of accounting. If the aforementioned assets return to our rightful ownership, this would increase the annual income of every inhabitant in the country by several thousand forints. This would make it possible, after diplomatic discussions, for the 1,000-year-old desire of Magyartdom, that is to say permanent Hungarian neutrality, to be realized." If the HIP gets into parliament after the elections, it will submit its proposal dating from 1947, calling on parliament to order the government to submit within 90 days a draft bill on Hungary's permanent neutrality.

The HIP is a member of the National Association of Center Parties, he says in conclusion.

FIDESZ Political Broadcast Presented

LD1402203490

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1130 GMT ON 14 February broadcasts a five-minute party political program on behalf of the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ). The program begins with people in the street saying what they

think about FIDESZ. This is followed by press clippings from 1988 about police warnings to FIDESZ founding members to cease their activity. FIDESZ board member Gabor Fodor says the reason for these warnings was that the FIDESZ platform contained some radical demands connected with 1956: the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the abolition of the Workers' Guard.

Next come recorded highlights from Viktor Orban's speech at Imre Nagy's reburial and again on 23d October 1989. These extracts are punctuated by reminders of subsequent political changes, such as the Communist Party's abandoning its leading role, the abolition of the Workers' Guard in October, and the proclamation of free elections in December.

Gabor Fodor goes on: FIDESZ continues to struggle for a new Hungary, for young people's possibilities, for old people's security, for a free, independent, multiparty parliamentary democracy. FIDESZ is entering the election struggle with a clean slate: Its candidates have not served petty monarchical, anti-people powers. FIDESZ counts on the votes of young and old alike.

Free Democrats, Trade Unions Hold Talks

*LD1502150990 Budapest MTI in English
2214 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Budapest, February 14 (MTI)—The Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions (FSZDL) and the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) held a meeting in Budapest on Wednesday [14 February]. The delegation of the League was led by President Pal Forgacs, and that of the AFD by Peter Tolgyessy.

Mr Forgacs said the FSZDL found it necessary to clear up its relations to the parties and give a picture of its views on cooperation with a freely elected parliament and the new government.

Mr Tolgyessy pointed out that the new government should make a definite stand against the structure based on state trade unions, and cut their privileges in order to encourage their membership to leave.

The two sides approved a joint statement. It says that the FSZDL and the AFD agree that tackling the economic crisis requires sacrifices. They feel the proportionate and just distribution of burdens requires economic and social agreement to be made between the independent trade unions and the new government.

The Free Democrats and the Independent Trade Unions call on the National Council of Trade Unions and its successors to make a public statement on how they used the assets of the workers.

The FSZDL plans to launch talks with other parties in the near future on similar topics.

Free Democrats' Official on Coalition Talks

*LD1602205690 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1300 GMT 16 Feb 90*

[Text] According to the SzDSz [Alliance of Free Democrats], there cannot be a fight against inflation and a guarantee of complete employment at one and the same time. Executive official Janos Kis said this while giving a briefing on the organization's economic program. The SzDSz worked out a program to deal with unemployment, which in their opinion is an accompanying manifestation of economic reorganization rather than decline.

In reply to questions, Janos Kis denied that they are holding talks on forming a coalition government with the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. At the same time, he said that if they do not gain a so-called comfortable majority at the elections, then they do not in principle exclude the possibility of an MDF-SzDSz coalition.

Szuross Receives Free Democrats Officials

*LD1902194890 Budapest MTI in English
1537 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] Budapest, February 19 (MTI)—On Monday, Matyas Szuross, acting president of the Republic of Hungary, received Imre Mecs and Ivan Peto, executives of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD).

The exchange focused on current issues of the peaceful political transition, and the preparation for the next round of coordination discussions between the parties.

MSZMP Political Broadcast Aims on TV

LD1602125290

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 1905 GMT on 15 February carries a five-minute party political broadcast by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], which is introduced by Chairman Gyula Thurmer, who presents four colleagues.

The first is Mrs. Eva Szollosi, a high school teacher from Nyiregyhaza and member of the MSZMP Central Committee. As a mother of five, she says she fears for her children in the present economic and political conditions and feels responsible for all the children in the country. They would like an improvement in the material and moral conditions of bringing up children and equal chances for children in education. Society should recognize the importance of bringing up children, and parents who have many children should not suffer moral and material disadvantage but should be entitled to early retirement. Teachers in Hungary have never received appropriate recognition either materially or morally, she complains. A modern education system with well-trained and respected teachers is needed, she argues.

Klara Virag works in office administration. As a mother, she too says she is worried about the future of her

children. She is aware of rising prices in the shops. She says in the confused situation, people can only trust themselves, their will. For her, the MSZMP represents strength; it takes a stand for the interests of working people and represents them in their everyday struggles.

Tibor Koi, deputy chairman of the party, works in a leading position at the Zahony train station line-maintenance section. He is a technical worker and is familiar with the problems faced by those living on fixed wages and salaries, by manual workers, and by the young. He considers it unacceptable that the provisions for pensioners are further deteriorating, and that the career and housing chances of the young are worsening. In the future, it should not be a narrow elite that has power, but the representatives of the workers should be present in the new parliament too. He appeals to colleagues, rail workers, to vote for the candidates of the renewed MSZMP. They wish to go forward, not back, and reject a return to the capitalist system.

Attila Regoczi is commercial director of the Budapest Porcelain Factory and a parliamentary candidate in Obuda, where he has lived for 22 years. The fate of Obuda and that of the country is their joint concern. He would like everyone to feel at home in Obuda, for a community atmosphere to be forged, in the modern and the old buildings together.

Radio Broadcast

LD1602200190

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1130 GMT on 16 February carries a five-minute political broadcast presented by Gyula Thuermer, chairman of the renewed Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP).

Thuermer says the party has dissociated itself from extremes and it is adhering to the electoral ethical code; their calm, balanced, but determined policies are gaining more and more followers. However, this is not to the liking of certain political forces it seems; serious atrocities were committed against Karoly Grosz on 14 February. They protest against this as they would if it happened to any other member of parliament.

Thuermer continues by saying that these are uncertain days financially, and also for job security. People are urged not to believe those who promise quick resurgence, calm bourgeois prosperity, that foreign capital will save us. Foreign capitalists are not unselfish, they buy good, not bad investments. Almost all other parties apart from the MSZMP urge that factories should be handed back to the capitalists and land to the large landowners, and then the country will start back toward Europe. He says people should not let a few tens of thousands of noisy people decide instead of them, the workers, peasants, and working intelligentsia.

Next, Thuermer says that the MSZMP offers something else: Everyone should have work, a livelihood, and

everyone should live in freedom and security. Inflation must be curbed now; speculation should be halted; wages should keep up with prices; minimal wages should not be less than 5,000 forints a month. A new taxation system is needed that taxes large not small incomes. Immediate renegotiations are needed with the capitalist financial organizations—it is not concessions that must be made, as the government did with the unscrupulous and illegal tax on housing loans. The dissipation of national assets must be impeded.

He continues: Majority community ownership is the basis for everything. Land should belong to those who work it; factories should belong to the workers. The workers should control production and distribution. Those who have ownership have the power. If it goes to the capitalists, power will go to a narrow elite representing private capital.

Thuermer concludes by stating that if the people have the land and the factories, then they can decide their fate. The future of people, families, and the nation is at stake.

AFD Outlines Election Program

LD1602160290 Budapest MTI in English
1502 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—The economic manifesto of the Alliance of Free Democratic (AFD) gives priority to curbing inflation. Should the alliance come to power, it will strive to halt the rate of inflation this year, and reverse the trend in the years to come, AFD Executive Janos Kis told the press in Budapest on Friday.

Mr Kis said the AFD did not feel it was possible to combat inflation and guarantee full employment simultaneously. For this reason, the Free Democrats have come up with a programme to manage unemployment. In their view, temporary unemployment is manageable, because it is a concomitant of economic restructuring rather than a sign of decline.

Answering newsmen's questions, the AFD representatives said they were not holding coalition talks with the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF). The AFD would like to win the elections outright. Should it fail to gain a stable majority, it would not in principle reject the idea of an eventual AFD-HDF coalition.

The AFD leaders said the parliamentary elections would bring about a change in system and elite at national level. To do the same at local level, they said the new parliament would have to give priority to passing a law on self-government, making it possible to call local elections by September.

It was announced that the AFD has 320 local organizations and 15,000 members.

Medgyessy Discusses Economic Concerns

PM1602151090 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET
in Swedish 9 Feb 90 p 8 (section 2)

[Report on interview with Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy by Hakan Forsberg; place and date not given: "Hungary Moving Toward the Market"]

[Text] Budapest—Hungary is now leaving 40 years of a centrally directed planned economy behind it and is rushing into a dark tunnel. At the other end there is the tantalizing image of capitalism and the embrace of Western Europe.

In the vanguard is Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy, the man behind the tough economic reforms that Hungary must go through before this transformation is complete. The problem is "merely" that no one has traveled this road before him.

With a foreign debt of almost \$21 billion, the Hungarians have the biggest foreign debt per inhabitant in the whole of Eastern Europe. Like many other countries in the same situation, Hungary has sought help from the IMF. The recipe has also been the same: Cut state subsidies, let prices and rents rise, close or sell state enterprises, and allow the market greater play.

At the New Year came the first shock—drastically increased prices for food, gas, and cars. The next came on 1 February: Rents rose by 35 percent and public transport became 50 percent more expensive.

Together with new laws on bankruptcy and a plan for privatization, the price rises mean that Hungary has now moved closer to the \$350 million that the IMF has promised to lend. The green light from the IMF also means that a number of other credits and guarantees to Hungary will fall due, including an EC loan of over 7 billion kronor.

"They were very tough negotiations with the IMF," Peter Medgyessy admitted. "The agreement is ready for signing, but must first be submitted to the IMF board. I hope that they will reach a decision in early March. The important thing is that there are no bones of contention remaining."

[Forsberg] Then there will "only" be bones of contention remaining with the Hungarian people because of the tough economic program that the government has adopted to meet the IMF's conditions.

[Medgyessy] The measures would have been adopted even without the IMF's demands. They have been approved by parliament, but there are divergent views on what measures are necessary and at what tempo they should be introduced. But I at least am convinced that the measures are the correct ones.

[Forsberg] But the trade unions apparently are not. Last Monday (29 January) 20,000, perhaps 30,000 people

demonstrated here outside parliament against your policies—a protest organized by the official trade union, which is demanding talks with the government.

[Medgyessy] Such a large demonstration can perhaps be seen as something unusual in an East bloc state. But do not forget that it was precisely this government that proposed to parliament that the right to strike and the freedom to demonstrate be introduced in Hungary.

I have full sympathy with the trade unions' demands, but if the government gives in, economic policy will become ineffective. They want wages to be set completely free. This is completely unthinkable, since the Hungarian economy is only at the very first stage of a market economy. Also, the question of ownership has still not been resolved, so there is nothing really to act as a counterbalance to wage increases.

On the other hand, we have not closed the door completely on the unions' demands for a different social policy. But we will wait for the results of the year's first five months before we can negotiate.

[Forsberg] There are reports that 3 million Hungarians will live below the poverty line—5,000 forints per month—because of the most recent price rises.

[Medgyessy] For many years a mistaken economic policy has been pursued in Hungary—and this has made us a country heavily burdened with debt. The increasing poverty is a consequence of this. I cannot say anything about the figure of 3 million, but I think that it is too high. But it is a very big group, and unfortunately the gap is widening—the rich are getting richer and the poor, poorer.

[Forsberg] Where did the \$21 billion go?

[Medgyessy] A significant proportion was used to pay the interest on foreign debts. But the biggest problem is that a large proportion went in consumption. Previous policies had as their goal the establishment of a relatively high standard of living despite the problems in the world economy.

What happened in the Nordic area and the rest of the West during the two oil crises led to the opening up and restructuring of the whole of your industry. But Hungary met this challenge by isolating itself. That is why our industrial structure was conserved. This is the nub of the problem.

[Forsberg] Privatization is one of the most difficult issues. How is the government tackling it? What are the plans?

[Medgyessy] As far as the need for privatization is concerned, both opposition and government take the same view. But they differ in their views of how it is to happen. Since we have not had a real market for several decades, very little capital has been collected in private hands. That is why foreign capital must come into Hungary quickly.

I do not agree with the somewhat nationalistic parties that oppose foreign buyers' taking part in privatization. It must not take the form of a clearance sale. Privatization must be public; the bidders must compete with each other and the state enterprises must be valued by professional firms before they are sold.

[Forsberg] Is Hungarian industry open for international purchase?

[Medgyessy] You could perhaps say that, but the central question is to what extent this can save the Hungarian economy. I am not afraid that we will sell too much to the West. What we need is new technology, modern management, and access to international marketing—just those factors with which a buyer from the West can help.

Officials Discuss Future of Arms Industry

LD1702234390 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Within the net of various interests, the arms trade was always a bit of a secret business. According to our present knowledge, the best year for our country was 1988, when we sold various products, mainly so-called military background products, to the tune of some 20 billion forints, that is, not only guns and cannons but various training aids and appliances.

However, the otherwise desirable peace and detente brings hard times for this trade. This year, hardly 40 percent of the 1988 turnover will be achieved and by the next year, only about one-sixth of that. So what is going to be the fate of the 17 large factories that are geared to the war industry, and what is to become of the traders, Tamas Frey, having thoroughly prepared himself on the subject, asked Antal Hej, head of the department in the Industry Ministry, and Laszlo Kocsis, chief of the main group of the Trade Ministry.

[Begin recording] [Frey] Do you consider it conceivable to counterbalance this recession by a method suggested by Western newspapers, i.e. that the possibility is there for Hungary to become a service agent for those countries that were, so to speak, covered with weapons by the Soviet Union, by these I mean the Arab countries and the African countries. Thus Hungary would not engage in arms production any more, but would see to the repair of these weapons.

[Hej or Kocsis] Naturally, we have to examine the possibilities as to what sort of opportunities we can find for fulfilling our capacity.

[Frey] From what I understand, a large part of Hungarian arms exports, about two-thirds of it, is directed to the socialist countries and this, after all, is a clean case because we give arms for arms. However, there is the remaining one-third, some 30 percent, which is sold for dollars. My question is where and to whom this is sold. [long silence follows] Is there no answer? Well, then I'll

put the question another way. I refer to Western papers again that say, and I think this was not a secret anyway, that, for example, Hungary has made considerable arms deals in Third World countries. Was that so or not?

[Hej or Kocsis] I did not read these Western papers; I do not know, but everybody has to recognize one thing, that any business, not only businesses involving military technology and arms, represents certain kinds of business secrets among the traders every time.

[Frey] But I feel that I am not enquiring into a business secret because the Soviet weapons can be seen in Arab countries; it is common knowledge in a way, this can not be denied, and everybody knows that 30 percent of Hungary's military technology production eventually is sold somewhere for hard currency.

[Hej or Kocsis] Naturally. Hungary, precisely by taking the state interests into consideration, and in order to utilize the full production capacity, sold these surplus items that are not needed within the allied countries, on other markets, and she will try to do this in the future, too, as long as there is the possibility, production, and requirement for this in Hungary.

[Frey] But you do now wish to name these other markets, as to whether they are Arab or African countries for example.

[Hej or Kocsis] Well, they are about the ones, or course, many other places in the world, where ever it is possible.

[Frey] What is the principle here, that business is business, or are there other guidelines?

[Hej or Kocsis] No, no, no. Business and the possibilities of business are determined in all events by the interests of the Hungarian Republic.

[Frey] And what are these interests?

[Hej or Kocsis] Well, since we are talking about military technology and arms, it must not happen that a short-term business profit should cause political or economic damage to the country at a later date.

[Frey] But, let us stay in such general terms. Wouldn't you want to go into this question more concretely?

[Hej or Kocsis] If I did not formulate it entirely clearly, in a more concrete manner, for example, if weapons would be sold by us or by somebody else somewhere for a certain amount...

[Frey interrupting] This is not very concrete that somebody, somewhere sells something. Let us create a fictional example: Can Hungary sell a radio locator to China that China wants to use to observe the Soviet Union?

[Hej or Kocsis] Well, this would be difficult for several reasons. Firstly, we do not manufacture locators and, second, because China does not want to buy locators from us.

[Frey] Why has the structure of our arms exports changed? Twenty years ago, we sold Kalashnikovs and cannons because we manufactured them. However, today, we almost exclusively sell appliances, training implements, that is things that cannot be used for shooting. What is the reason for this? Is this a safer, better business?

[Hej or Kocsis] I think that this is the result of a perfectly natural technical development.

[Frey] So isn't this switch influenced by the fact, which one might suspect, that we manufactured these weapons, for example, the Kalashnikov, under Soviet license, and even now, we manufacture handguns under Soviet license, and the sale of these products is somewhat more difficult because permission has to be obtained from the Soviet Union. It is much more simple if we only sell exclusively Hungarian products. There is no trouble with those; we can do with them what we like.

[Hej or Kocsis] Manufacturing products of military technology is goods production. Our country, Hungarian industry and our factories must endeavor to produce goods in the most effective way. This is why this change of structure occurred in the arms industry because, due to the potentials of Hungarian industry, more effective industrial products could be manufactured in these areas than on other arms fields.

[Frey] Finally, let me thank you for your interviews and let me ask you, after all you are here on behalf of the Ministries of Industry and Trade, are you soldiers, have you any military rank?

[Hej or Kocsis] Well, the case is, so to speak...well, if you please, the situation is that we are soldiers. We are soldiers because in order to manufacture and sell military products, certain military know-how is necessary. [end recording]

Gal on Interior Ministry Situation

*AU1902181690 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 17 Feb 90 p 7*

[Report on interview with acting Interior Minister Zoltan Gal, by Attila Gy. Fekete and Tibor J. Keri; place and date not given: "There Is No Cause for Concern?—The Interior Ministry Is Angry at the World—Disintegrating Local Councils, Frightened Officials, Overburdened Policemen"]

[Excerpts] Will the Interior Ministry disintegrate before the elections? In other words, are the police able to defend us and will public administration be able to function? A positive answer would be important for a peaceful transition and political stability. Can we find a positive answer to these questions? Our correspondents interviewed Zoltan Gal on these questions.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Mr. Gal! Public safety has collapsed. The population is afraid of the police, and the police are afraid of the population. What is your opinion about this?

[Gal] This is an exaggeration. However, it is a fact that the number of crimes is constantly on the increase. Last year, crime reached a critical level.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What do you mean by this?

[Gal] We have an underworld—organized crime, brutality, and cases of brutal murder have also taken place. Naturally, all these things shock the people. Breaking into houses and larceny also threaten the population in a financial aspect and are keep them in fear.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Some two-thirds of the known crimes committed in 1989 remained unsolved. Does this show the criminals' professionalism or the lack of preparation on the part of the police?

[Gal] Unfortunately, the police force we inherited from the "police state" is obsolete and small. As early as 15 years ago, forecasts were made that the number of crimes would increase above 200,000 annually by the nineties. However, the political echelons have never acknowledged this. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Certain parties do not hide the fact that they would already confront the state administration. Is it true that state administration officials are afraid?

[Gal] Yes, they are. The mood of the workers employed in public administration is very bad. Some 40,000 people fear that they would find themselves on the streets following the change in the regime. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Many people also question the legitimacy of local councils. This also contributes to the lack of confidence on the part of the apparatus. When will local administration elections be held?

[Gal] Not before autumn this year. It is impossible to hold local council elections before the legislation of the law on self-government because the population must know the tasks for which they elect deputies. In my view, the law on self-government will not be submitted to the Parliament earlier than the end of May 1990. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] In your view, which party could get the Interior Ministry following the elections?

[Gal] I do not know but I think there will not be too much fighting for the Interior Ministry. This ministry has been degraded by giving up control over the state security, and the Police Department will also become independent by then. The remaining tasks do not promise spectacular political successes, but all the more hard work.

Official Hands Over Bugging Scandal Documents

LD1602160990 Budapest MTI in English
1514 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—Major Jozsef Vegvari, member of the former Department of Internal Counter-intelligence of the State Security Service, handed over all documents relating to the Hungarian bugging scandal to a parliamentary investigation committee on Friday.

(The scandal broke out on January 5, and led to the resignation of the minister of the interior.)

Lawyer Alajos Dornbach, a parliamentary candidate for the Alliance of Free Democrats, told MTI that the sealed documents smuggled out of the Ministry of the Interior had not been accessible to anyone.

He reconfirmed that the only documents to have been made public were ones which shed light on the illegal practice the Internal Counter-intelligence Department of the State Security Service was involved in: They did not hurt the interests of concrete individuals.

Mr Dornbach said Jozsef Vegvari supplemented his testimony at the chief military prosecutor's office on Thursday at the request of the prosecution.

Deputy Minister Urges Links With EC, EFTA

LD1602155490 Budapest MTI in English
1316 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—If Hungary really wants to be intensively involved in the West European integration, it should get into the European free trade zone.

For this reason, it should make simultaneous proposals to the European Communities (EC) and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA).

A separate agreement with one of them would not fully open up the free trade zone for Hungary.

For the time being, Hungarian and EFTA experts are working on a declaration outlining the country's intentions, Tibor Melega, deputy minister of trade, told the Friday session of Hungary's Inter-Ministerial EC Committee.

Mr Melega said the reform processes taking place in Central and Eastern Europe were unlikely to affect the support granted and pledged to Hungary. It should be considered, however, that in future, the G24 will have rather more mouths to feed.

Mr Melega said the EC decision to lift the discriminative quantitative restrictions imposed on Hungary and suspend further restrictions still in effect in trade with some Western countries, yielded a surplus income of 120 million dollars for Hungarian exporters.

The extension of preferential tariffs to manufactured goods and some farm produce may yield another 80 million dollars a year.

In a former memorandum to the G24, Hungary raised the idea of concluding a free trade agreement with the EC, at least for manufactured goods. Hungary would reap unilateral benefits from free trade until its economy is capable of reciprocating them.

Minority Representatives Want New Ministry

LD2202161790 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] In Bucharest today representatives of the nationalities held a roundtable consultation. Our special correspondent Zoltan Tamasi reports:

[Tamasi] The ministry for minorities must, in all events, be set up. Its existence cannot be substantiated by the ministry dealing with Transylvania, it was stressed at the discussion that representatives of 12 Romanian minorities held under the chairmanship of Karoly Kiraly. The deputy head of state, who is of Magyar nationality, bitterly noted that the leadership has so far not devoted much attention to the proposals of the minority. The government representative had been invited, but he was not present at the consultation. Perhaps because he would not be able to give an appropriate reply, the participants said.

Karoly Kiraly recalled that it is not enough to condemn the Ceausescu era in general terms; in concrete terms as well, the leadership must recognize what disadvantage has affected the minorities. On this basis, it will be easier to take the practical steps.

At the consultation I also learned about a communique. The Independent Magyar Party has dismissed former Chairman Janos Vincze because of his moral problems and pronouncements that showed the party in an unfavorable light.

Leaders Meet Social Group Representatives

LD1902223190 Budapest MTI in English
2105 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 19 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the republic, Miklos Nemeth, prime minister, and Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of parliament, held a consultation with leaders of the representative and social organizations and movements in the parliament building on Monday.

The representative of the Peasant Federation termed the latest amendment to the land law as inadequate, and demanded to freeze the sale of land. On this score, Mr Nemeth said the government recommended the parliament's agricultural committee to initiate an amendment, stipulating that not more than 1 per cent of the common land can be sold annually.

Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, said there would be smaller social tensions if the consultation had been convened earlier. He blamed the government for paying much more attention to creating the political conditions of peaceful transition than the economic ones.

Andras Gabor, president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, sharply criticized the government which repeatedly disregarded the chamber's proposals but, at the same time, asked for its support. The chamber called attention to several unfavourable economic trends in due time, and made proposals for halting them.

New Government To 'Inherit' Compensation Costs

*LD1202140190 Budapest MTI in English 1325 GMT
12 Feb 90*

[Text] Budapest, February 12, 1990 (MTI-ECONews)—The bill for the 16 billion forints in compensation to be awarded to Hungarian victims of unlawful practices by the Stalinist regime in the 1950s is likely to be handed on to the newly elected government at the forthcoming elections.

According to Interior Ministry records, between 1945 and 1953 80,000 people were interned in detention camps and 30,000 were forced to leave their homes and resettle in other parts of the country. Of the 400,000 Hungarian prisoners of war who came back from Soviet camps, 2,400 had been condemned unlawfully.

Estimates disclose that about a fifth of the 80,000 people are still alive and would be eligible for compensation under the new rehabilitation bill currently being drafted.

The draft bill allocates them 11,000 forints (170 USD) for each month they were without work owing to their situation, which would cost the state a total of 16 billion forints. As there is no allocation in the current budget, the compensation process is likely to have to wait until the election of a new government in March.

The social organization which represents the interests of those involved has suggested that a third of the money due be paid out in one amount, with the rest being granted in the form of a monthly allowance.

Leading personalities in the workers' movement who suffered under the regime of the early 1950s were given considerable compensation, an average 100,000 forints (equivalent to 1 million forints (16,000 USD) at today's prices) in the summer of 1956.

About 500 families, relatives of those sentenced to death and killed as a result of their role in the 1956 uprising are likely to be granted a one-off sum of 300,000 forints (4,600 USD) in compensation.

The 16,000 people concerned, however will receive a monthly 500 forint (8 USD) pension rise to add to their current pension of only 3,000 and 4,000 forints (approx. 55 USD) a month (compared to the monthly average of 5,300 forints (83 USD).

Balcerowicz, World Bank Sign Loan Agreements

LD2202120290 Warsaw PAP in English
1135 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—President of the National Bank of Poland NBP Wladyslaw Baka and President of the World Bank group Barber B. Conable and Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz on behalf of the Polish Government signed two agreements on loans for Poland.

The first stands for 260 million dollars appropriated for development of exports of industrial products. The second, 100 million dollars, is to boost the exports potential of the agricultural-food sector. All economic subjects irrespectively of their property character can apply for credits.

Mr. Conable said that he came to Poland to assure about the engagement of the World Bank in supporting the process of reforms and development, underway in Eastern Europe. It can be expected that those countries would receive loans worth more than 5 billion dollars in the next three years, including 2.5 billion dollars for Poland.

National Bank Chief Baka Discusses Economy

AU2102164390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 14 Feb 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with National Bank President Wladyslaw Baka by Piotr Aleksandrowicz; place and date not given: "The Beachhead"]

[Text] [Aleksandrowicz] The first few weeks of the implementation of the Balcerowicz plan are already behind us. How would you assess what is happening in the economy from the viewpoint of the National Bank?

[Baka] We are seeing the emergence of phenomena that are unknown in our postwar history. First, a demand ceiling has appeared. Many enterprises have never treated such an eventuality seriously. Second, currency convertibility has been maintained and there has never been any danger to the stability of the exchange rate, not even for a moment. Third, it has been possible to keep incomes in check, although the rate at which prices have been rising has markedly exceeded the projected level. The price for these achievements has been a significant drop in consumption and output.

[Aleksandrowicz] It would appear that the zloty is regaining confidence on the financial market. Would you agree with that?

[Baka] The zloty has never been so strong, or sought after, in its postwar history. Other currencies are being converted into zlotys. Although its purchasing power fell by 40 percent in January, the zloty has, at the same time, grown stronger as a medium of exchange. The zloty's free market rate against the dollar has stayed on or just below the official level: That is something that we have never

seen before. We are on the threshold of an economy based on normal money. You can say that the beachhead has been established.

[Aleksandrowicz] Has the Polish National Bank seen similar positive effects in the loan market?

[Baka] Both the population and enterprises have responded sensibly to the new loan policy rules by speeding up repayments and making limited use of credits. Banks have become more active in searching for cheap money and profitable ways of investing their funds. However, demand was significantly lower than supply in view of the high cost of loans.

Interests rates will fall in February. This will affect both loans and deposits, as well as bank margins. I think that we are moving toward equilibrium in the loan market.

[Aleksandrowicz] People who want to save note that interest rates are still below the rate of inflation.

[Baka] That was the case in January, but deposit account receipts nevertheless turned out to be greater than the demand for loans. Interest rates that provide a real return are very attractive to savers. However, when inflation is high it is not easy to find clients who want to pay real rates of interest on loans.

The basic goal of policy on interest rates is to establish equilibrium in the financial market. As interest rates gradually fall in February and March, we will move toward equilibrium. When there is a modest inflation rate, equilibrium is usually attained at a point at which interest rates are somewhat above the rate of inflation. Once this happens, real rates are identical with what is dictated by supply and demand.

[Aleksandrowicz] Serious complaints have also been prompted by the fact that banks capitalize interest rates on loans every month, but they do not do the same for interest on savings.

[Baka] The Polish National Bank encourages the commercial banks to adopt the principle of symmetry, and the methods used to calculate interest on loans should correspond to those used to calculate interest on savings.

[Aleksandrowicz] How can the central bank influence the commercial banks?

[Baka] There are economic instruments. There is also persuasion. That is how the Polish National Bank is trying to make the banks charge reasonable commission rates.

[Aleksandrowicz] It would appear that debts increased in January. What does the Polish National Bank intend to do to reduce debts?

[Baka] We did not find that there was a significant increase in debts in January. We even expect there to be a certain improvement in February. We hope that bills of exchange will provide a relatively cheap form of credit.

On the other hand, it is essential that the habit of tolerating arrears is broken. Today, this is the order in which enterprises meet their obligations: The allocation of funds for wages comes first, then come taxes, followed by loan repayments, and finally bills are settled once creditors have an enterprise with its back against a wall.

[Aleksandrowicz] Do you think that the new regulations will elicit the right kind of reaction from enterprises?

[Baka] It will definitely not have the right kind of effect everywhere. Many enterprises want to tackle their problems and, in some cases, the inevitable catastrophe by waiting it out and going on leave. So, they place their work forces on leave and cut back production. I think that what lies at the bottom of this kind of action is the belief that one should hold out, that the marketplace and monetary novices who have found themselves in power will start issuing money in a few months' time and then everything will be as it was in the past. If that were to happen the situation would be catastrophic; it would mark the restoration of the old system.

[Aleksandrowicz] However, people are increasingly saying that adjustments to the program have to be made now. Do you agree?

[Baka] There are two great elements working against the program: lethargy in the economic process and a lack of interest on the part of individuals and entire social groups. This manifests itself in the form of economic behavior that has little in common with the behavior that is desired, as well as in political pressure and pressure for higher wages. How should one act in light of these dangers? From the viewpoint of strengthening the currency, there cannot be the slightest departure from three principles: the principle of convertibility; the principle of exchange rate stability; and the principle that the increase in the money supply must be lower than the increase in goods and services.

The worst thing that one can do at this stage is to believe that the causes of inflation have been wiped out. Inflation has been curbed, but it continues to exist and if the right degree of caution is not exercised, it could explode with renewed vigor at any moment.

Hungary's Acting President Szuros Arrives

*LD2202094690 Warsaw PAP in English
0932 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—Acting Hungarian President and Chairman of the National Assembly Matyas Szuros arrived here today on a one day visit at the invitation from President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

He is to discuss with Polish politicians bilateral relations, regional cooperation, European integration and German unification.

Views German Unification

*LD2202212790 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] The German problem was one of the main subjects of my Warsaw talks, said acting Hungarian President Matyas Szuros at a news conference with INTER-PRESS:

[Begin Szuros recording, in Hungarian, with superimposed Polish translation] The Hungarians have taken the approach, that like all nations, the German nation also has the right to decide for itself on its fate, and the final say should belong to that nation. The division of Germany today creates an unnatural situation in Europe. The Hungarians are totally in agreement with the opinion that unification should be carried out in harmony with the European system of security. In my case, I think it is in the interest of the Germans themselves. The Hungarian Republic fully supports Poland's efforts concerning an international guarantee on the inviolability of the Odra and Nysa border. The Hungarians are going to support any country which will support those efforts. [end recording]

Meets Walesa

*LD2202214890 Budapest MTI in English
2004 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Warsaw, February 22 (MTI)—According to Lech Walesa, president of Solidarity, sixty per cent of the Poles are not taking part in the reform which is characterized by 'the elites playing table-tennis over the head of society'. The common people are likely to realize that they are left out of the game, which would entail the danger that they escape from the country, Mr. Walesa said at a meeting with Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, in the Warsaw headquarters of the parliamentary group of Solidarity on Thursday.

Walesa compared the East European countries to reversing cars. Hungary has already stopped and Poland is the only one moving forward, he said. (According to his earlier prognosis, Hungary would go bankrupt in a year.)

The sides shared the view that maintenance of social stability was particularly important in a period of historical changes taking place in both countries.

Meets Jaruzelski, Others

*LD2302014890 Warsaw PAP in English
2130 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—Acting President of the Hungarian Republic Matyas Szuros paid a 10-hour official visit to Poland today.

He held talks with Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

Talks With Jaruzelski

Szurows and Jaruzelski discussed bilateral relations between Poland and Hungary, regional cooperation and situation in Europe with particular stress put on the German question.

The sides came out in favour of the soonest possible calling of the 2nd conference of states-parties to the CSCE.

They pointed to external aspects of Germanys' unification, and mainly to legal guarantees of the inviolability of the present borders in Europe, including the Odra/Nysa one.

Referring to the military status of the united Germany, they stated that the question should be settled through creating a system of common security ensuring equilibrium in Europe.

The sides said that the hitherto Polish-Hungarian cooperation, based on the many-century tradition of friendship, was positive and profitable for both sides.

Meeting With Mazowiecki

In the forenoon, Szurows met with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki to discuss the Polish-Hungarian relations. They also touched upon the situation in Europe, the process of Germanys' unification, including the question of the inviolability of the borders and Poland's attending the "two and four" conference.

The Hungarian side declared its understanding and support for the stand of the Polish Government. Prime Minister Mazowiecki briefed the visitor on the idea to set up a council for European cooperation.

Szurows-Walesa Meeting

Following his talks with the Hungarian official, Lech Walesa said that they discussed the matters of mutual concern, including the ones pertaining to the reforms and the ensuing dangers. He added they saw the need to jointly discuss how to enter Europe with the fewest possible conflicts.

We also spoke of not being afraid of democracy. In Hungary, for example, there are 60 political parties, Walesa said and added that one had to accept this and that Polish and Hungarian sides could exchange experiences in that respect.

The Solidarity leader said he asked the Hungarian visitor to back Prime Minister Mazowiecki in his strivings for attending the unification conference.

Visit to Sejm

At the conclusion of his talks with Polish politicians, Szurows met at the Sejm with Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, the two agreed that there was a need to expand their parliamentary contacts and exchanged

views on their parliamentarians attending the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe.

Press conference of Presidents

At a press conference here, the two presidents answered questions about Szurows' talks with Jaruzelski, the Polish-Hungarian cooperation, the situation in Europe and Germanys' unification.

Referring to the latter question, Szurows said Hungary believed that like every nation, the Germans had the right to determine their fate. The division of this nation and country is an artificial thing in today's Europe. We are of the opinion that the unification must take place in harmony with the process of European security, he stated.

Hungary supports Poland's strivings for being given international guarantees of its western borders. We support every step aiding these efforts, he said.

In response to the same question, President Jaruzelski said he shared views presented by Tadeusz Mazowiecki at his press conference the day before. The idea of Germanys' unification was formulated by many governments as a derivative of the whole process of Europe's unification.

I would like to firmly confirm the formula: nothing about us without us, and the necessity to guarantee our western border in the form of a treaty, Jaruzelski said.

Touching upon Hungary's participation in military blocs, Szurows stated that Hungary was working on coming back to Europe. We must adapt ourselves to Europe not in the geographical aspect but in economic, cultural and civilizational ones, he said.

Both Hungary and Poland enjoy the status of a permanent observer in the Council of Europe, we are holding talks with EC, we have contacts with NATO, he said.

While speaking about Hungary's possible joining NATO, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn understood that Hungary remained a Warsaw Treaty member, Szurows explained. One can imagine, for example, that after Germany's unification, in one part of the state there will be American troops while in the other—the Soviet ones.

President Jaruzelski said that unilateral dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty would be an untimely act, mainly from the point of view of Poland. The basic thing is to ensure equilibrium and security in Europe and our efforts are being made to this end. A new situation has emerged in the region, he stated.

Under the circumstances, our membership of the Warsaw Treaty is profitable for Poland as we are getting support she needs. Of course, we all want the two pacts dissolved as soon as possible, Jaruzelski said.

In response to the question about cooperation between Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, Szuros said that President Havel's proposal boiled down to the tightening of those countries' activities on their road to Europe.

This means, he added, that the three countries must refer in these activities to possibilities of the CMEA. The Hungarians have no illusions about the reserves of this organization. But if the three countries approached this in a coordinated way, something could be done.

Jaruzelski opined that the idea of close relations between the three countries with alike cultures and common interests demanded cooperation which would help reach a higher stage of the relations.

Closer relations of a few countries with alike interests might be an important element of the united Europe, he stated. We should get ready for this in an evolutionary way. Poland is willing to deepen cooperation with Hungary and Czechoslovakia. I believe that this process will go on, Jaruzelski said.

Christian-National Union Chief Gives Views

AU1102141590 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 5 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with Professor Wieslaw Chrzanowski, chairman of the Christian-National Union, by Janina Paradowska; place and date not given: "Pragmatism and Tradition"]

[Excerpts] [Paradowska] Since its inception, the Union has been saying that it wants to gather together those political forces that are right of center. To use the popular terminology of today, you are a party of the center-right, are you not?

[Chrzanowski] That is the common name given to the entire political orientation, though I admit that definition really is fashionable. I prefer to describe our position in different terms: We oppose the left-wing concept, which is expressed in a tendency to achieve a certain political model that guarantees society's success in the future. The right-wing concept is different. It says that social and economic life develops organically, according to certain rules, and there is no target toward which it is heading.

[Paradowska] So what kind of policy do you pursue whereby everything is to take place smoothly and naturally?

[Chrzanowski] We want to amend the current situation and create the kind of legal, social, and economic institutions that permit collective life in accordance with certain ethical and moral principles.

[Paradowska] What principles?

[Chrzanowski] Christian ethics, man's right to self-determination and economic activity. In a nutshell, the center-right wing means a pragmatic approach toward

socioeconomic problems. It represents an appreciation of traditional values, a counteraction of attempts to shape reality by force according to certain doctrine and against the wishes of a society that is still immature.

[Paradowska] Which of these concepts, left wing or right wing, has a greater chance of dominating Poland?

[Chrzanowski] So far, left-wing concepts have always been dominant, even in the latest legislation. For example, take a look at the constitutional amendments, especially those on the subject of ownership. There is talk of equality between different types of ownership, with special attention to personal, nonproductive ownership. And yet, the concept of "personal ownership" is a typical invention of Marxist legal theory. There are no such differences in a democratic world. Ownership is ownership. Society is all that matters. Thus, old patterns persist deep inside our psyche, and the old structures are still alive. The economy is still monopolistic and state-run, private initiative still occupies the fringe of our lives, and it will probably have no major effect on our economy for some time yet. [passage omitted]

[Paradowska] The Union has its group of Sejm deputies and senators. Do you not intend to form your own parliamentary group which would champion your own stand and fight for the values that are dear to the Union?

[Chrzanowski] We do not have a very big representation, three deputies, two senators, and several sympathizers. They have greater chances if they remain in the Citizens Parliamentary Club. Then they can present various initiatives, which is what they have been doing, e.g., on the subject of the Political Parties Act and the assets that remain in the hands of the Polish United Workers Party. Apart from that, I do not think we have the right to form our own political group. Our deputies and senators were elected on the recommendations of the Citizens Parliamentary Club and Lech Walesa, and not as representatives of our Union. One has to respect one's voters. [passage omitted]

[Paradowska] Finally, what are your forecasts for 1990?

[Chrzanowski] I think a clear multiparty system will begin to take shape. However, it is difficult to judge what social moods will be like, whether people will want a caretaker state, whether moods will shift further to the left, or whether a different orientation that is nearer to us, i.e., a market economy and private enterprise, will neutralize these moods. Of course, that does not mean we want to abandon social policy, which we are accusing the present governing team of not having. Therefore, the right-wing orientation is not devoid of chances because, first, no one ever built a caretaker state out of the ruins of real socialism, and second, our system of values may gain the support of the rural sector. That would be an optimistic scenario.

Social Democrats Message to EEC Counterparts

AU1302153690 Warsaw TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA
in Polish 10-11 Feb 90 p 16

[Unattributed report: "Europe Needs a Polish Left"]

[Text] These were some of things said by the chairman of the Supreme Council of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP] in a message sent to participants in the Congress of the Federation of EEC Social Democratic Parties:

Our presence here is further confirmation of Poland's return to Europe, and of the return of the Polish left to the European left. The dissolution of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] signifies the end of the institution of real socialism and a final break with attempts to realize a communist utopia.

Two paths led to the fundamental change that has taken place in Poland. One path was that followed by opponents of the previous system and the second was followed by reformers in the governing camp. These two paths led to the "roundtable" meeting. The Poles created a model for peaceful revolution, for transition from totalitarianism to parliamentary democracy. The gentle revolution would not have taken place without us, the people of the left.

The SDRP deems parliamentary democracy the one form of government for the modern state. It considers the highest values to be freedom and the rights of man, not only political rights, but also social and economic ones, social justice, equality of opportunity, and fundamental human solidarity.

Economic reform must entail social costs. We are torn between the feeling that economic reconstruction is a necessity and a feeling of responsibility for the fate of employees. We appreciate the need to implement the economic program of the Tadeusz Mazowiecki government. We will support the program. However, we will also campaign to have the social costs of economic reconstruction distributed fairly.

We do not think that it is possible to simply transfer the concepts of economic neo-liberalism to Polish soil. We will strive to make employees joint owners of production assets.

The left must be a permanent element in the parliamentary system. Our partners must come to believe this. This will require time. As a new political structure is created, it is natural for there to be disputes and splits on the left. My party respects everybody's right to choose their own organization, but we will consistently seek agreement among the left. We propose dialogue and discussion among all left-wing tendencies and organizations, including the "Solidarity" left.

The European Community is not only an agreement among states. It is also an agreement among like-minded people. Europe needs a Polish left. We want to be both a Polish and European party.

We are not returning to the European left empty-handed. We are returning with a 100-year tradition of original Polish socialist thought. We are also coming with our own experiences.

We would gladly play host to experts who would tell us how social democracy works in practice—in elections, in local government, in the enterprise. It is worth considering whether the Socialist International should not send a mission to Central and East Europe that would be similar to the ones sent to Latin and Central America. The mission could begin organizational structures for the whole of Europe.

Our party wishes to cooperate with all European left-wing forces in building a Europe of free peoples and nations. Our path is one of equality, justice, and solidarity with all left-wing and progressive forces in the world.

Mazowiecki, Miodowicz Statements After Talks

AU0902124390 Warsaw TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA
in Polish 7 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Teresa Grabczynska report: "Government-OPZZ Talks"]

[Text] Talks lasting several hours between Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and government representatives, on the one hand, and a National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] delegation, headed by OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz, on the other, took place at the Office of the Council of Ministers on Tuesday, 6 February. This was the first in-depth talk between the OPZZ and Premier Mazowiecki about the social situation caused by implementing the government economic program.

The government said it would provide a written answer to the trade union postulates within 10 days.

We asked the premier and the OPZZ chairman to make statements on the subject of the talks.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki: The OPZZ trade unionists presented their interests in a very frank manner. At least, that was my impression. They indicated many important matters, especially in the social sphere, matters which also concern us. The problem lies in the possibility of resolving them and the speed with which it can be done.

I assume major differences will emerge between us in this sphere. We must bear in mind what can and cannot be done, depending on the financial possibilities of the budget that we manage. However, there is no doubt that the meeting raised important issues, ones which we perceive as well. The point is whether or not they should

be resolved in the way the OPZZ has suggested. Can that be done quickly? I fear there are going to be differences between us.

Soon we shall also meet with the "Solidarity" trade union. No doubt those talks will be similar, in the sense that people's standard of living is a certain common denominator and everyone is thinking about it. So I suppose "Solidarity" will reach a similar opinion.

The point is that it is very easy to make this diagnosis, and basically the diagnosis is correct. But the problem is what kind of treatment to prescribe, how fast to apply it, and how to convince people that nothing can be done to disrupt the government's difficult program. I would even say that if we ourselves were to diverge from the program, we would waste the patience that people have already invested in that program. We would then have to start from the beginning.

Alfred Miodowicz: This was not a polite meeting, nor a piece of protocol. We spoke to the premier and his team about matters that are fundamental to working people—the standard of living, the prospects of survival, social security. Specifically, we said that the minimum wage should be not 120,000 zlotys, but 156,000 zlotys [a month], and that the social and housing fund should be calculated according to a different set of principles than have been applied so far—in other words it should be higher than the planned 50,000 zlotys per employee. To this, one must add family benefits, reimbursement for stays in convalescent homes, reimbursement for nurseries and kindergartens, and the great problem of the pensioners' standard of living.

The government is implementing its program, which calls for a 20 percent drop in the standard of living, a 1 percent drop in consumption, and a 5 percent drop in production. That is the bitter truth. We are not enthusiastic about this program, but we are realists.

We, trade unionists, are mainly interested in what will happen to wages if the figures I have just mentioned alter. What if the standard of living falls further than envisaged and real wages also fall? What kind of system should be applied to maintain these wages at the right level?

As far as the most important matters—wages and social policy—are concerned, we did not raise the subject of unemployment or housing construction, which are also arousing a lot of misgivings.

We have our own interests, and we defended them to the very end. The government presented its own arguments. The talk was open. Both sides tried to understand each other and meet each other halfway. My forecast for the future is a good one, for there is a chance of reconciling two rather divergent stances.

Solidarity Agenda for Discussion Noted

LD1602145990 Warsaw PAP in English
0036 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 15—Representatives of the Presidium of the Solidarnosc National Executive Commission met the government today. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Solidarnosc Chairman Lech Walesa took part in the first part of the meeting.

The trade union side raised the following problems for discussion:

- The population's living standards,
- Cushioning efforts when pursuing stabilizational programme,
- Speeding up the pace of political changes, particularly dissolving security services and changes on posts in the administration,
- Amendments to the trade union law,
- The situation in work places, the necessity to change directors and to counteract nomenklatura companies and plundering of national property,
- Regaining the Solidarnosc property taken away after December 13, 1981.

The government made assurances that it was constantly working to shield the living standards of the poorest.

The implementation of group dismissals is being examined and will be assessed at the end of March. Legislative amendments are possible in this respect.

The government side also announced a further acceleration of political reforms, including the liquidation of the security service and plans to introduce major changes in local administration even before elections to local self-government. It stressed however that all actions must be pursued under the law.

As regards trade union assets, the government asked Solidarnosc to present a detailed list of problems and said it would assist in solving them.

The government side also announced changes in managerial posts in workplaces and action to counter waste of national property, particularly cooperative one. At the same time the government briefed the Solidarnosc side on work to introduce amendments to the law on trade unions in keeping with the attentions of trade unionists.

The sides agreed that the next meeting should be devoted to issues of the living standards and take place in mid-March.

"We are from the same root but society demands that we differ, nonetheless, that Solidarnosc better represent the interests of its members," stated Lech Walesa at the outset of the meeting at the office of the Council of Ministers. Tadeusz Mazowiecki also spoke about natural differences between trade unions and the government. These differences, despite convergent general goals, surfaced many a time during the hours-long discussions.

Statement on Meeting

LD1702112590 Warsaw PAP in English
2248 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw. Feb. 16—Barbara Malak, the press spokesman of Solidarnosc appeared on television today to deliver a statement. Excerpts:

"Representatives of the Presidium of Solidarnosc held a meeting with the government on February 15. Representatives of the trade union arrived to this meeting with a very big list of postulates. They generally concerned three issues.

"First, the problem of what we call discrepancies in the rate of ongoing changes in the economic and political field. The trade union proceeds from the premise that political changes are taking place too slowly as compared with the very intensive economic program.

"Second, we had a big group of postulates which pertained to the protection of the living standard and the shielding of those who lose their jobs as a result of the reforms.

"Last but not least we spoke about issues of the trade union as an organization, in other words about issues of expanding trade union freedoms and the still unresolved matter of the assets of our union which were taken over by the OPZZ [National Confederation of Trade Unions].

"We will begin serious talks on all of these matters. Already now we have received assurances from the government that the 0.3 indexation rate would be added to the real growth of prices which in January totalled 78.5 percent and not to the growth of prices anticipated by the government. As we all know these prices rose by much more than was envisaged in the preliminary assumptions.

"Controversy broke out only after the communique was written. The communique did not carry two statements of the Solidarnosc side. One stated that the trade union expresses firm dissatisfaction at the fact that the rate of economic transformations does not match that of political ones. The second was that the union insists on better information on the part of the government.

"These talks also showed that there are different points of view on various specific issues of the government and trade union which represents the direct interest of its members in workplaces."

Solidarity Daily on Benefits of Troop Presence

AU1702151590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 14 Feb 90 p 1

[Janusz Reiter commentary: "What Are the Forces For"]

[Text] Will we become more independent on the day when Soviet forces leave Poland? Will we strengthen our

position in Europe by demanding the withdrawal of the USSR's forces? Do we also want to have these forces removed from Germany?

The Soviet Union is prepared to withdraw its forces from Poland. So, it is worth asking ourselves a few questions. The most important of these is: Will we become more independent on the day the Soviet Army leaves our territory?

Some of us think that we would, but this may stem from a failure to distinguish between the two functions that the Soviet divisions have been performing. One of those functions was of a policing kind—that of safeguarding the interests of real socialism. This function has come to an end. The Mazowiecki government provides the most telling proof of this. What remains is the second function being performed by the Soviet forces in Poland: They are a component of European equilibrium.

The unification of Germany will disrupt that equilibrium. It will have to rebuild. This situation is so different from the one that has existed until now that everybody has been forced to reflect on their interests.

The Americans have already done so and have come to the conclusion that they, by no means, want to see the Warsaw Pact fall apart, despite the fact that they have sought this since its inception. Moreover, this view is shared by the French and the British. The Russians, who have sought to have U.S. forces removed from Europe by issuing threats or using underhand means for the past 40 years, have begun to suggest that the presence of the U.S. Army might even be desirable.

The second question that we should ask ourselves is: Will the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland strengthen our position in Europe? It has come as a surprise to the world that the Mazowiecki government has not made an issue out of the stationing of Soviet divisions. Moscow has responded to this with gratitude. Gorbachev, who finds a pile of reports on his desk every day about fighting in Transcaucasia, or secessionism in the Baltic republics, is well aware of the value of at least one stable point on the map of Eastern Europe.

The West, which is concerned about Gorbachev's future, is no less grateful to us. Western politicians, who are prepared to show understanding for the fears that many Poles have about German unification, would not be able to understand why a nation that is afraid of one neighbor should wish to make its other neighbor dislike it. The statement made by Helmut Schmidt, the former FRG chancellor, about Poles not being able to decide who they are afraid of more—the Germans or the Russians—is frequently repeated in Western capitals.

Before we remove the Russians to beyond the Bug, we should ask ourselves whether we also want to remove them from Germany. It is hard to imagine Soviet forces leaving Poland while remaining on the territory of the present-day GDR, which is something that many Poles would consider desirable. The Russians would withdraw

from Germany only if the united German state were to have a neutral status. That would be a dangerous scenario for us. A neutral Germany would be a power that could, in accordance with the German political tradition, sooner or later start drifting toward the East and toward Russia. This is something that we have never profited from. It lies in the interests of Poland, and of other states, that this ship is anchored in a Europe that is being integrated, in which NATO and the Warsaw Pact may, in the not too distant future, give way to new structures that will ensure that all countries feel secure.

European politics will shortly see the beginning of a new game. We are sitting down to it with a poor hand. The Soviet forces in Poland may—although this sounds paradoxical—be our trump card. Europe is interested in these forces remaining on our territory until a new security system is created. It is worth finding out how much this card is worth. If we give it away now by making the Russians withdraw, we will not get a penny for it.

Chancellor Bismarck said that the Poles engage in political lyric poetry and lyric politics. Today, this view is also shared by many people in Europe. It has been shaken by what has happened in Poland over the past year. The Poles have shown that they are a nation that is capable of pursuing a judicious policy. This has increased our standing in the world. Over the next few months there will be many opportunities to boost it or to diminish it. The question of the Soviet forces in Poland is a first test.

SDRP Supreme Council 10 Feb Meeting

*AU1802195990 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish
12 Feb 90 pp 1, 3*

[Krzysztof Pilawski and Dariusz Szymczycha report: "The Supreme Council Meeting"]

[Excerpts] On his election to the chairmanship of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP], Aleksander Kwasniewski is reputed to have said: "I will never set foot inside the Central Committee Headquarters again." He kept his word. The first working session of the SDRP Supreme Council did not take place in the "white house," but was held in the building of the former Center of Party Studies on Rozbrat Street. [passage omitted]

The Supreme Council heard the following reports:

- Stanislaw Tabkowski on the situation and future of the Workers Publishing Cooperative [RSW];
- Andrzej Gdula on the SDRP's property holdings, and its liabilities which the SDRP assumed from the former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR];
- Stanislaw Seklecki on the project of setting up a PZPR archives center;
- Marek Kuczynski on the fate of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences [ANS]. [passage omitted]

Property

At the end of 1988, the value of all property owned by the PZPR stood at almost 36.5 billion zlotys. At the present moment it is being reaudited.

The PZPR had 463 properties; 224 of these were built with state funds and on state owned land. Some 171 were built on state owned land with party funds; 13 were constructed on land owned by the party; and 55 buildings were occupied on the basis of various arrangements, for example, joint finance, on lease, and so forth. From all the mentioned properties, only 16 unquestionably belong to the PZPR and can be disposed of as the party sees fit.

The legacy of the PZPR also consists of various chattels—namely, furniture, office fixtures and equipment, printing equipment, and so forth. This heading also includes 1,173 vehicles. According to current legislation, this movable property belongs to the party.

The PZPR also owned 95 percent of the shares in the RSW.

The bank accounts of the PZPR only hold relatively small sums. More significant are the PZPR's financial liabilities which stemmed from its debts and redundancy payments to dismissed PZPR employees.

The Fate of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences

About 3,000 full-time, correspondence, and postgraduate students at the Academy of Social Sciences will have to find new places to continue their study. The ANS employees will have to find new posts. The SDRP does not have the financial means to keep this private institute open.

According to current prices, it costs Z1.3 billion per month to keep ANS open. The SDRP Supreme Council has appealed to the government to assist in placing ANS students in state education institutions. The Supreme Council has also appealed to the government to assist in finding alternative employment for ANS employees. It has also lodged a proposal with the Ministry of National Education for finance to keep ANS open until the 30 September 1990. [passage omitted]

The Workers Publishing Cooperative

From November 1989, RSW has cut back its periodicals range by 80 titles. Some of these titles have been dropped altogether, others have been temporarily suspended, and some have been sold off to other publishers. Over 144 out of the 5,000 journalists employed by RSW have been discharged. Another 500 are to be made redundant very shortly. Substantial cutbacks in administration personnel at RSW headquarters and in individual publications are also envisaged.

By the end of February 1990, the RSW Main Board is to present the government commission investigating PZPR property with a full report on the property that RSW

owns and the basis of its legal title to such property. The SDRP Supreme Council has empowered the Central Executive Committee to publish a statement on the reorganization and nationalization of the RSW.

TRYBUNA

There was a great outcry to the proposition that the name of the new newspaper should be left to the new editor in chief. WOLNA TRYBUNA, the title suggested by Marek Siwiec, was thought a good enough title for a column, but not the whole paper. The alternative suggestion was simply TRYBUNA. It was also suggested that it might also carry some sort of subtitle, for example, "SDRP's Popular Daily," or "A Free Voice, Safeguarding Freedom."

In the vote ordered by Aleksander Kwasniewski, 54 people voted for the title WOLNA TRYBUNA and 67 for TRYBUNA.

We have made a historic choice, joked Tomasz Nalecz. In choosing the title TRYBUNA, we have established a link with the Pilsudski tradition. In 1906, the Pilsudski faction split the Polish Socialist Party of those days, and founded their own paper which carried the title: TRYBUNA....

Transfer of PZPR Property Encounters 'Hitches'

AU1902150990 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish
14 Feb 90 p 6

[PAP report: "The Former Party's Property: Handing Over the Keys"]

[Text] The process of transferring assets that belonged to the former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] so that they can be used for social ends is under way, but there are hitches. The Katowice Voivodship Union of Citizens Committees stated in a resolution that municipal and township authorities in the voivodship are not discharging their duty of looking after property that belonged to political parties and other organizations that have been disbanded. Andrzej Szarawski, plenipotentiary of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP] Supreme Council for Katowice Voivodship, with responsibility for technical and organizational matters, says that the SDRP has assumed the active and passive elements of the old party and that it feels it has a responsibility for ensuring that all issues relating to assets are resolved in accordance with the law. Meanwhile (in, for example, Zabrze, Gliwice, Bedzin, Wodzislaw Slaski, Sosnowiec, and Pszczyna) there are instances of property belonging to the former PZPR being taken over in defiance of the law and the intentions

of the government commission. Citizens committees are forcing local authorities to set up intervention commissions without the participation of those who have legal rights over the property.

The former PZPR Voivodship Committee headquarters in Katowice is standing empty. The cost of maintaining it—without rent!—amounts to 100 million zlotys a month. There is a dispute in progress about who should pay the cost of maintaining party buildings that are closed. The Katowice plenipotentiary believes that if the local authorities have sealed a building, and it is not being used by anyone temporarily, then the local authorities should pay the maintenance costs.

The local authorities in Czesochowa have committed themselves to ensuring the Higher Pedagogical School receives a large part of the former headquarters of the PZPR voivodship committee there, but the Voivodship Court, the District Attorney's Office, the Silesian Bank, and the statistical office also want to be allowed to use the vacated premises.

The building occupied by the former PZPR voivodship committee in Chelm belongs to the city authorities and has been returned to its rightful owner. The president of Elblag has decided that the former voivodship committee building should be taken over by the treasury, and the plot of land adjoining it will be shared by a nearby school and a Roman Catholic parish. A SDRP group in Bochnia has suggested that the former PZPR building be given to the local authorities for use as a cultural center. The former building in Tarnow will shortly become the headquarters of a medical school. In Polanow (Koszalin Voivodship), the headquarters of the former local PZPR committee will be given to a library. There is still a dispute in progress about the former voivodship committee building in Koszalin. The local authorities want the whole building to be given to the community, but the local founding SDRP group wants to retain 30 rooms and a conference hall for its own use.

So, the heirs to the PZPR's assets and local authorities are having problems. It is worth pointing out that Jacek Ambroziak, the head of the Council of Ministers Office, has advised local authorities to prevent actions that could hinder the effective drawing up of inventories and the rapid transfer of property belonging to the former PZPR. The creation of faits accomplis concerning party property is a violation of the government commissions' powers.

Leszek Miller, secretary general of SDRP Central Executive Committee, said at a recent news conference that everything that did not belong to the former PZPR should be transferred to society and the property that remains should be used by left-wing groups.

PNUC Plenary Session Held; Agenda Given*AU2302135490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1227 GMT 23 Feb 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1990—On Friday afternoon the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] met in plenum.

The meeting was preceded by a session of the PNUC Executive Bureau which decided how the Council works would proceed.

The proceedings are chaired by PNUC President Ion Iliescu, assisted by the council vice-presidents Radu Campeanu, Cazimir Ionescu, Ion Caramitru and Ion Manzatu.

The Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council proposed the following agenda:

1. Several conclusions on the Sunday 18 February 1990 events in Victory Square, Bucharest, and measures tabled by the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council in its 19 February meeting.
2. Draft decree-law on measures to protect state bodies, public institutions, headquarters of political parties and groupings, citizens' peaceful life and order.
3. Government account of the current situation in the national economy and measures for the next three months.
4. Report of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry on the application of measures to stimulate peasants and the preparations for the spring farm campaign.
5. Other problems.

The agenda proposed by the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council was submitted to the council members for debate and was approved by an overwhelming majority of votes.

Approaching the items on the agenda, PNUC President Ion Iliescu presented the conclusions on the 18 February events in Bucharest victory square, as well as the measures envisaged by the Executive Bureau in its 19 February meeting.

The proceedings continue.

Iliescu Urges 'Common Front'*AU2302135690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1320 GMT 23 Feb 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/2/1990—During the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] meeting, Mr. Ion Iliescu urged for the creation of a common front of all the responsible, conscious and democratic forces in the country to bar the way of the recrudescence of fascist

or neofascist movements that announced, in the country or abroad, their intentions to refound Iron-Guard organizations.

In connection with the second item on the agenda, a memorandum was presented on the bill regarding measures for the protection of state bodies, public institutions, the headquarters of the political groupings and parties, the citizens' peace and order rules.

The bill stipulates the prevention of other acts of violence and disturbance of public order and peace which negatively bear on the democratization process in the country and on a smooth run of economic and social affairs, and provides specific measures to this end.

Debates are under way on the first two items on the agenda.

Iliescu Stature Reportedly Overshadows Parties*AU2202123590 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Feb 90 p 2*

[Voicu Bugariu article: "Gulliver and the Resigned Lilliputians"]

[Excerpts] On Saturday, we watched the meeting establishing the Provisional National Unity Council. [passage omitted]

It goes without saying, the meeting was an act of democracy.

What I found funny and, at the same time, made me shiver, was the tremendous difference between the actual political stature of Mr. Ion Iliescu and the lilliputian political size of the other participants in the meeting. At the beginning, when some speakers tried to discuss principled issues, it was allegedly pointed out that this difference was going to be reduced somehow. However, after Mr. Iliescu's statement—in which the tone of parental admonition in his voice is unforgettable—principled discussions stopped. The "minor" misunderstanding about the separation of the Front, as a political movement, from the Front Council was cast aside. After a few timid attempts, the same happened with the formulation of some obscure points in connection with the role of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council within this new body. Has the NSF Council been restructured? Has it been extended? What is the real political power of the parties? Does the opposition have a real chance in the elections? Apart from the formal democratic aspect, what is the electoral significance of accepting, on equal terms, parties with such different social weight? [passage omitted]

What is worthy of mentioning is the amazing ease with which the participants in the meeting let themselves be steered toward discussing formal aspects. What was the importance of the admission or rejection of five last-minute parties? Almost none. What was the importance of the "wing" in which the representatives of the ethnic minorities were to be placed? Minimal, if we make a

simple calculation of the possible distribution of votes. Despite this, those present suddenly were particularly interested, even enthused with these aspects. Knowingly, they squandered the political essence of the moment. [passage omitted]

The unspoken message of the party representatives at the founding meeting [of the Provisional National Unity Council] could be summarized as follows: Be tolerant, Mr. President Iliescu. Be merciful, we implore you! Be generous, do give us a chance as well!

Iliescu, Others on Democratic Pluralism

AU2202133490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1246 GMT 22 Feb 90

["Political Personalities' Opinions—Ion Iliescu: A Historical Chance"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/2/1990—The present is characterized by complex and contradictory processes, states Mr. Ion Iliescu.

Meeting the request of "ADEVARUL" which presents, in the form of opinions set forth by some political personalities, the way in which the country looks like in liberty after two months since the overthrow of the dictatorship, the president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] stated that the structures of a pluralist democratic system have emerged and develop against the background of serious difficulties generated by a heavy heritage in the economic and social spheres, and of an inertia of the former state structures which cannot be removed in such a short time.

The road from dictatorship to democracy is complicated, opines Mr. Iliescu, adding that impatience can annihilate the achievements so far. We should not forget that the revert way is still shorter, and the destabilizing forces know this very well.

There are all prerequisites for the annihilation of these forces, for the continuation and deepening of the course of democratization. The political consensus which underlies the PNUC platform of action provides a historical chance in this respect.

Corneliu Coposu: "Well-Fed Confusion"

We are passing through a difficult stage of confusion, agitation and instability, states Mr. Corneliu Coposu.

The irresponsible actions which promote violence and intimidation, led from behind, especially against our party, and benefit nobody have brought about a well-fed confusion of an authentic Stalinist nature, states the president of the Christian and Democratic National Peasants' Party.

All manoeuvres of an electoral character which destabilize the situation and the uncontrolled demonstrations and counterdemonstrations should be given up, and the

manipulation of public opinion and the stirrings engendered by imaginary pretext against the potential political adversaries should cease in order to let the ideals of the revolution assert themselves, he opines.

I.V. Sandulescu: "Permanent Political Effervescence"

The two months that have passed since the revolution are characterized by a permanent political effervescence, assesses the leader of the National Liberal Party Organization in the capital city. That climate of peace and confidence so necessary for the new democratic political forces to carry on their activity could not be set in yet, Mr. Sandulescu adds.

The fact that the election term has already been set no longer justifies any street demonstration, states Mr. Sandulescu. The phenomena which go beyond an admissible limit of peaceful demonstrations which turn into hooliganic acts like the ones of 18 February become disquieting.

Ion Radu Zilisteanu: "An Indefinite Political Climate"

The political climate is indefinite and unstable despite the formation of the Provisional National Unity Council, states Mr. Radu Zilisteanu, vice-president of the National Democratic Party of Romania.

Stating the reasons for such an assessment, Mr. Zilisteanu shows, among other things, that after more than forty years of dictatorship the population's political culture is very limited. Hence, the political parties are contested without being well known what a political party means, maybe because it is commensurate with the former Communist Party. As a rule, the newly created parties are well-meaning but, by virtue of this general reserve, people have not been even curious to read their platforms and to discuss with their representatives.

Mr. Zilisteanu cautions that the unleashing of passions of any kind can lead to disaster, and calls on the personnel in the economy to understand the seriousness of the situation, the fact that it is dependent upon the recovery of the social, political and economic climate.

Roman States Positions During Visit to France

Insists on Party Pluralism

AU1802221590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1922 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Paris, ROMPRES 18/2/1990—In an interview granted in Paris for France Presse, Petre Roman insisted among other things on Romania's will to regain its European standing, to reintegrate the circuit of all-European values. The Romanian premier also referred to the implementation of the democratic process in the perspective of the 20 May elections, and enlarged upon a number of claims of the military included and aspects of the minority issue [as received].

Mr Roman insisted on total party pluralism of equal opportunities for each party to express itself free, which makes a solid foundation for Romania's broad opening toward the world, for a lucid, realistic international cooperation.

"We want," the Romanian premier added, "President Mitterrand to be our guest as soon as possible. I told him this and we hope he may come to Bucharest to further the Romanian-French dialogue."

Expounds on Relations With France

AU1902151090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0945 GMT 19 Feb 90

["Petre Roman: We Must Renew the Traditional Romanian-French Relations"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 19/2/1990—In principle, what I would like to achieve during our visit to France is that a broad, unrestricted cooperation be established between our two countries, stated Prime Minister Petre Roman to newspaper "DIMINEATA" the first issue of which has come out in Bucharest today 19 February. To this end, I think we must resume and renew the traditional cultural, spiritual relations with France which were greatly harmed during the dictatorship.

We have in view the development of economic cooperation by expanding bilateral links with France and by our joining in the economic activities of the European Economic Community. We have several times suggested the French authorities to broadly discuss the growth of ties in science, education, culture. We have in mind to send an ever larger number of young people to studies, to doctor's degree examinations, to specialization, and to invite French professors to teach in domains now in a critical situation.

There is a peculiarity which makes this visit interesting, namely that France is an example of society with mixed property, state and private, and with an operating planning body. That is why, France's experience, in comparison with other Western European countries, arises our interest in particular. We also want to open the gates to a broad cooperation in a matter of great concern to our country—the environment, pollution and pollution control. We expect to cooperate with France in this domain as well, he stated.

Clarifies Hungarian Schools Position

LD2002093490 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Head of Government Petre Roman denied in Paris that he is opposing the opening of Hungarian schools in Romania. A report from Miklos Keleti:

[Begin Keleti recording] Petre Roman was surprised when, at his news conference, I quoted an AFP report which implies that he is against Hungarian schools in

Romania. There is no question of this, quite the opposite. I also am in favour of the complete cultural and linguistic autonomy of minorities, his reply began. The misunderstanding must have arisen in connection with an AFP interview about mixed language schools. It was in connection with these that I said, continued Petre Roman, it would be a pity to reorganize all such institutions at once, in too much of a hurry. There were destabilizing attempts, and these led to resentment from both Romanian and Hungarian sides. Petre Roman said that only in this sense should people understand the statement that it serves no purpose to strive for linguistic exclusivity. He emphasized once more that he, too, supports the linguistic and cultural autonomy of minorities. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Summarizes Visit to France

AU2202101890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0831 GMT 22 Feb 90

["Romania in the World—Petre Roman's Interview"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/02/1990—Back to Bucharest from the visit he paid to France, Premier Petre Roman granted an interview to the Romanian Free Television referring to the meetings and talks he had with French leaders.

I met President Francois Mitterrand immediately after my arrival in Paris on Saturday, said Mr. Petre Roman. The meeting was interesting and useful, from our point of view, as I could note that there was an openness of France, and to a certain extent a special openness of France to new Romania, to the new democracy of Romania, a political readiness—and we know that the political action is the first to lay the foundation for cooperation—in favour of the positive evolution in our country.

I had the pleasure to meet again President Mitterrand the next day in the evening, at a dinner when the talk had a broader character. We referred to a large extent also to the issues related to Romania's connection to Europe, with our stress on the fact that, as is known, our country is seeking and must find the European vocation it had and it fully deserves in consideration of the new situation in Romania and all the more so in consideration of the new situation in Europe—a domain Mr. Mitterrand considers particularly sensitive and topical.

I met Premier Michel Rocard on Monday at noon, when many things were already initiated, materialized I may say. In the meantime I had interviews with ministers, politicians and businessmen, industrialists, bankers whom I briefly but correctly informed about the current economic situation of our country, about our options concerning the economic evolution in our country, our wish to liberalize the economy, to orient ourselves towards a sound economy to which competition and market economy are absolutely necessary and to which we aspire through as realistic steps as possible. About our

wish to receive any suggestion, more particularly from France, to retechnologize our industry, the key industries in particular. As for traditional domains such as tourism and agriculture or industrial branches like car manufacturing, oil and energy Romania can guarantee good results. Therefore, with Mr Rocard we started from a number of achievements and we actually closed, in a positive way, this circle, made a balance-sheet which should result in a broad and incomparably more comprehensive cooperation between Romania and France. There already exist palpable achievements, for instance the solid oil societies "ELF" and "Total" for the capitalization of the gas and oil deposits in the continental shelf of the Black Sea, the French side noting, after the contacts they had in Bucharest, that we have highly competent technicians. And this cooperation is particularly advantageous as the effort these companies would make could be paid back in products a highly advantageous and modern form of cooperation; the decision of the two large companies "Citroen" and "Renault" to revamp, to retechnologize the Romanian car industry; the resumption and expansion of cooperation in aviation, more particularly in the manufacture of helicopters, as the French side considers that there is a technological base and solid highly competent human resources. There are strong contacts in the farm and food areas, and a good start in tourism. All this can advance pretty fast.

In conclusion Prime Minister Petre Roman referred to the colloquium held in Sorbonne and to the address he made during the proceedings, specifying that he tried to bring arguments in favour of the idea of the integration of Romania, of the East in general, of the idea of European unity, so that Romania could regain its European spiritual vocation.

Defense Minister Stanculescu Profiled

*AU1702174190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1622 GMT 17 Feb 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 17/2/1990—As has been announced, on February 16, the president of the Provisional National Unity Council, Ion Iliescu, appointed Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu to the office of minister of national defence.

Here are brief biographic data of the new minister:

He was born on May 10, 1928 in Tecuci (a town lying in the eastern part of the country). He attended the Military Artillery Officers School in Sibiu (class of 1949) and the Military Academy the Artillery Faculty (class of 1952). He was unit commander, chief of General Staff at the Army corps in Timisoara, head of section in the General Staff, head of directorate and then deputy chief of the General Staff. He was also the head of the Economic Directorate of the National Defence Ministry. From 1981 to 1986 he was deputy minister of national defence and then promoted to the office of first deputy minister of national defence. After the December 1989 revolution he was minister of national economy.

He is married and has a daughter. Hobbies: horse riding (he was president of the Romanian Horse Riding and Modern Pentathlon Federation for 18 years or so), plays and films. He also likes to read fiction in French and Russian.

Papers Published Abroad Return to Bucharest

*AU1202151190 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1400 GMT 12 Feb 90*

[Text] ROMPRES has informed us that the newspaper CURENTUL has been registered in Bucharest. This paper was founded by Pamfil (?Seicaru), and its exile issue reappeared in Munich, FRG, in 1980. The current owner of the paper is publisher Vasile C. Dumitrescu.

Victor Frunza, the director of the Bucharest issue of this well-known publication, stated that, at the beginning CURENTUL, will be a weekly and will appear before the elections.

The Victor Frunza Publishing House and the magazine "ALERGATORUL DE LA MARATON" [The Marathon Runner], which is also published by Victor Frunza, have moved from Denmark to Romania as well.

These are the first book and press institutions which, after long years of exile, are returning to our homeland.

*** Opposition to National Salvation Front Voiced**

*** Bucharest Demonstration**

*90EB0244A Paris LIBERATION in French
29 Jan 90 p 2*

[Article by Sorj Chalandon and Marc Semo: "Counter-demonstration"]

[Text] Responding to an appeal from the Peasant, Liberal, and Social Democratic parties, tens of thousands of persons demonstrated in Bucharest yesterday in front of the headquarters of the NSFC [National Salvation Front Council], demanding the latter's resignation. Several thousand counterdemonstrators came out to meet them. The demonstration was finally authorized Saturday morning at a meeting of the opposition and the NSFC, during which the government promised that the law governing the 20 May elections would be submitted for the opposition's approval and proposed the formation of a coalition government. Sunday evening, Ion Iliescu told the crowd he had invited all opposition party leaders to the dialogue scheduled to begin Thursday. "We do not want to impose our will by force," said the head of the NSFC.

It is all being played out on the green, a few acres of icy snow, mud, and dirt stretching in front of the forbidding Ministry of Foreign Affairs where the National Salvation Front (NSF) has been meeting for a month. On the right are NSF supporters: young people, the odd occasional "punker" in imitation leather, workers in hard hats or caps, women with children, others brandishing banners

bearing the names of Bucharest's biggest factories: "23 May, Griviza Roscie, ICTB." Their placards proclaim: "Iliescu! Iliescu!" "Long live the Front!" "Workers support the Front!" Or: "No more monarchy!" "Don't sell our country out to foreign interests!" On the left are the demonstrators' opponents, thousands of young people carrying ID cards to prove, contrary to television propaganda, that they are not "hooligans" paid 200 leis a day (Fr100 at the official rate) to demonstrate.

The throng, numbering in the tens of thousands, has responded to the appeal of the Peasant, Liberal, and Social Democratic parties. The same faces, the same sad clothing, are seen on both sides. Here also are peasants from the provinces, workers. Even the slogans are sometimes identical: "We will not leave!" or: "The people are with us!" All have come to show they count. On one side or the other, with their shouting and by the sheer weight of their humanity, they want to have an impact on the "arm wrestling" going on in the conference room on the building's second floor. There, Ion Iliescu, president of the Front, the 11 members of the Executive Committee, and representatives of a few "mass organizations" (trade unions, youth, and so on) are confronting opposition parties and their leaders, trying to hammer out their version of what is to be the new political face of democratic Romania.

1815 hours: From 1 May Avenue or Victory Street, groups of hundreds or even thousands of Front supporters are marching in tight ranks, their left fists raised and their right hands on the shoulder of the marcher in front of them, adding their numbers to those who have already reached the square. All are chanting the name of Iliescu, alone among NSF leaders still popular, even outside of Front ranks. "We heard the news on TV and came to back the negotiators." They want to restore the ratio and retake the square already packed with 30,000 demonstrators, a fourth of them Front supporters.

The crowd has been here for hours. They arrived in a compact mass from the university and nearby streets where the two main parties have their headquarters. In the front lines are the students, those from architecture carrying a big banner: "Down with the Romanian Semi-Communist Party!" They chant in reference to Iliescu: "A man who spent five years with the Russians cannot think like George Bush." One young student, Anka, worked all night painting a hundred or so posters of a brightly colored crow: blue in the front, black behind, NSF on one side and PCR [Romanian Communist Party] on the other. In Romanian, a crow that changes color is the symbol for lying. Behind him is the National Peasant Party cortege. In the front and behind the police cordon is the group of leaders, the youngest of them over 60. Jakov, a jurist and 70 years old, is in the middle of the crowd waving a little flag with a hole in the center where the emblem of the Socialist Republic of Romania had been cut out. Seeing thousands of these flags in the crowd, one might think that from now on they will be manufactured in industrial quantities as symbols of the revolution. "The last time my party voted for me was in

1946. Most of my friends died in prison." Groups of young people wave the Solidarnosc flag. This Peasant Party also wants to embody the Christian Democratic tradition in Romania.

Behind them come the Liberals. They are nearly as numerous. A woman wearing a fur carries a homemade poster saying simply: *Jos communismul!* (Down with communism!) An elegant gentleman in a suit approaches us: "I am a Romanian from Paris. I came here two days ago just to witness this historic occasion." Posters proclaim: "No 'human' socialism or perestroika: just Western-type democracy!" The more politically oriented shout: "We want a coalition government now!"

Noon. The first demonstrators opposing the Front come into their adversaries' line of sight. They shout, call each other traitors. A few form a chorus trying to calm the situation: "We are all Romanians." The two sides occasionally blend and it becomes difficult to tell who is who. They do their best to sort each other out. "Kneel! Only communists on your feet!" shouts one demonstrator. Half the square goes down on its knees, while the rest remain standing, stupefied, dumbfounded. Fists fly as Front latecomers arrive at the square. Seven have come by truck from outlying areas. They jump down with their little streamers rolled up in their hands, mark time, and then spread out. "The Front was born in the line of fire, not abroad," the flag proclaims. Spat upon and insulted, they start to march toward their comrades on the other side of the square. Someone gets hit by a punch, then come a few slaps, and they make their way through the crowd. One of them shouts at the other side: "There are now 23 million kings; we don't need people in other countries claiming to be royalty!" They reach Boulevard 1 May near the Gare du Nord, where at 1100 hours the NSF has called a meeting of support for its policy. Some 3,000 persons are waiting on the steps of the 1st arrondissement mayorality. "If workers are a minority, it is because they work all week and rest on Sunday. They don't spend their time demonstrating like everyone else," says one old woman worker, who says she came on the spur on the moment and heard no mobilization orders at the factory.

1610 hours. The demonstration begins to seesaw. First a small group manages to get beyond the regular soldiers and even the uniformed paratroopers. Then tens of thousands spill over onto the green and a mass of humanity, pushing and shoving, tries to make its way to the closed doors of the building where the NSF is meeting. Everybody is yelling: "Come on out! Otherwise we're coming in!" Jeering students chant: "Iliescu! Get your helicopter ready for the getaway!" One placard proclaims: "Brucanschwitz: Nazi!" It is an insulting reference to the Jewish origins of Silviu Brucan, Front ideologist and PC leader since illegality. The loudspeaker set up on the balcony begins to crackle. More shouting. Iliescu, president of the Front, comes out on the balcony. At his side is Corneliu Coposu, old Peasant Party leader long imprisoned, living symbol of the former political class rising from the ashes, a historic image. The crowd is

momentarily stunned into silence; then the shouting resumes. Iliescu tries to make himself heard: "Be reasonable." His voice is drowned out by the shouting. At his side, young Prime Minister Petre Roman makes a futile attempt to use his charisma. Things are out of control. Roman's face suddenly changes expression. Coposu takes his turn trying to restore calm: "Please calm down. We are presenting your demands. If we are to engage in dialogue, we must have silence." The shouting resumes. Members of the Front and the opposition leave the balcony to the hue and cry and once again close the negotiating room doors behind them.

1930 hours. Iliescu again appears on the balcony and says: "We are not power hungry; we do not want to impose our will by force. The elections will decide. We have asked all parties to join in an open political dialogue beginning Thursday". "We do not want to start down the path of adventure and provocation. We want to keep the door open to cooperation so that all honest forces will join together in the fight for progress in our country." Amidst boos and whistles but encouraged by his supporters, he asks demonstrators to evacuate the square "in an orderly, disciplined manner." The shouting recommences.

2300 hours. Slowly, urged on by steady pressure, supporters of the National Salvation Front regain the ground they have lost. Several rows facing the ministry are illuminated by white light streaming down from building tops. Romanian television is filming their peaceful reconquest. "The people are the Front; the Front is the people," the crowd shouts, waving huge Romanian flags. Under the arcades suddenly lost in shadow, their backs against the doors of the former Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dozens of soldiers in helmets or *chapka* form a human barrier. Girls and soldiers smoke cigarettes and talk, smiling, leaning against the guns and turrets. A crowd of a few thousand remains at the square. Those supporting opposition parties have simply retreated 100 steps. They are still whistling, shouting their hatred for communism. Others have split into little groups and engage in heated discussions, while many others leave the square. Over the microphone, a worker backing the regime speaks of the victorious December revolution. In the crowd facing him, one curious onlooker, an engineer, murmurs: "They are sincere, but unfortunately, they also were when they came to applaud at party meetings."

* Mistrust of NSF Prevails

90EB0244B Paris LIBERATION in French
29 Jan 90 p 3

[Article by Serge July: "Demonstrations in Bucharest"]

[Text] Distrust reigns in Romania. It has permeated all the countries that are emerging from the communist night, but nowhere else is it as intense or as absolute, for nowhere in East Europe—except for the USSR—has communism declined in such a totalitarian manner. Elsewhere Communist parties have irresistibly

imploded. In Romania the dictatorship resisted and it is where communism is the most unanimously hated.

Everyone over the age of 60 has witnessed, participated in, or been the victim of the conquest of power by the communists. Everyone between 30 and 60 has had to live in a world whose horizons were limited in every sense of the word by the Ceausescu regime. The reformist facade that inaugurated his reign even gave people illusions for a time. It authorized many professional and social compromises. The very young have known nothing but the horror of the Ceausescu dictatorship; they did not have time to be corrupted. They are naturally the most distrustful and, consequently, the most radical in their democratic demands. They are less willing than anyone else to put up with the compromises made by the NSFC with entire sectors of the dictatorship's political and police apparatus.

One word creeps into every conversation: stain. Most Romanians feel debased by communism and the Ceausescu couple. It is as if Petainism in France had lasted 40 years instead of four, but without the slightest organized resistance—other than intellectual or poetic—to which one might cling. Romanian communism unquestionably turned out to be exceptionally effective in its system of exercising surveillance over its people, making any meeting impossible. Any such assembly would have been fatally discovered and repressed. In such an implacable regime so reminiscent of the strictly Stalinist period in the USSR, no opposition could take shape. No core could build a collective legitimacy.

The crisis that has shaken Romania since 22 December is a crisis of legitimacy. No one is in the situation of an indisputable federator: neither the NSFC nor the "historic" parties being rebuilt. But if the opposition was successful in its first sortie Sunday, it essentially owes that success to what the editorial in "22", the weekly of intellectuals belonging to the "Social Dialogue Group," calls "the alarming coherence of the Front's decisions."

For example, we all know the important role played by television in the Romanian uprising. The television director is the NSFC spokesman, which immediately makes one uncomfortable, especially since television has clearly taken sides.

But what is more, the number two man in television, to wit, the director of operations, was the boss of the network until Ceausescu's fall. However, this political alliance with the old regime has been systematized in several ministries in the name of government urgency and administrative continuity.

All remarks made by Front leaders since the announcement of its participation in the May legislative elections and all the shillyshallying in negotiations with the opposition confirm all fears: The NSFC has been fighting for a week to prevent a return of the "historic" parties to power alongside it.

In a country where everything, however remote, evokes the methods of reasoning, categories of thought, approaches, and behavior of communism, the NSFC's moves immediately rouse indisposition, while the government's measures appear to be a neocommunist lapse. Whatever its leaders do after they take power, the tics of the communist political culture irresistibly rise to the surface: Distrust is at an all-time high.

Two trials are occurring simultaneously in Bucharest. One aspires to the majesty of democratic justice and brings a handful of Ceausescu's lieutenants before decorated magistrates. The other is more fluid. It is proceeding against the National Salvation Front Council via the street, meaning the students, a large group of intellectuals, and all traditional parties being rebuilt, *de facto* members of the opposition. The two are indissolubly linked. The fall of the dictator does not mean *ipso facto* the establishment of democracy. That battle remains to be won and it is by no means a sure thing.

The trial of the dignitaries of despotism following bloody repression is in that sense symptomatic. It is at one and the same time a major event in the communist world and a disappointment on a par with that event. Criticized for the expeditious manner in which he got rid of the Ceausescu couple and suspected of trying to save the Communist nomenklatura, the Front tried to present proof of its democratic good faith. When there is a break with the old regime, the trial of the formerly powerful is always a fundamental act. The guiltier the accused, the more special guarantees presented on behalf of the defense must be. The fate of the accused counts less in the end than does the system of values put in place on this occasion. Exemplary in every way, for better or for worse, such a trial functions as an indicator revealing the level of democracy achieved by the regime in power. In Bucharest, that level is low, as evidenced by the court record of Sorj Chalandon's hearing.

The NSFC has yielded to suspicion. To avoid contagion, the new leaders have imposed their pace and their limitations on justice, which could not fail to be botched and so it is. And it is precisely because the Front is content with the appearance of justice, without convincing its detractors that it is truly concerned about form, that it is now suspected of short-changing democracy.

After five weeks of "liberation," the NSFC finds itself in a role that neither theoretician Silviu Brucan nor many of its members had foreseen: the precarious organization of former Communists supporting reform. Nowhere in the East have communists, even when breaking with the party and ostentatiously converting to social democracy, succeeded in leading that break with communist society alone. Everywhere these reformers have had to join with forces not committed to the dictatorship and accept coalition governments with the opposition to plan for legislative elections.

By giving priority to the alliance with the Communist nomenklatura, the men surrounding Ion Iliescu caused the crisis in the NSF, its enclosure in a political definition intolerable to many of its members, thereby undoubtedly depriving itself of majority status. Silviu Brucan, Ion Iliescu, and Petre Roman, the Front's trio of leaders representing three generations of old Communists, thought the victorious December uprising would enable them to play the role of a Lech Walesa or Vaclav Havel on a Romanian stage. This amounted to forgetting that while they did take part in it, which no one disputes, they did not set it off and, consequently, their legitimacy was precarious. Instead of growing stronger over the weeks, it decayed.

The storehouse of distrust built up by the Romanians unquestionably constitutes an exceptional asset in the democratic transitional phase. But it could turn against them if the NSFC persists in opposing the sharing of power and an apprenticeship in democracy.

* Opposition Programs

90EB0244C Paris *LIBERATION* in French
29 Jan 90 p 4

[Article by M.S.]

[Text] The National Peasant Party says it has over 200,000 members. Officially registered with the Bucharest court on 11 January, it is probably the most important of the 19 legalized parties. This was already true before the war and after World War II, it became the country's main political force. Its president is Corneliu Coposu, 74, who spent 17 of those years in the camps. The main points of this party's program are the defense of the country's independence and integrity, protection of pluralist democracy and social justice, gradual promotion of a market economy, immediate restoration of socially-useful farm property, and the creation of conditions under which property may be developed. Among other things, it emphasizes "the national rebirth of Christian morals in the spirit" and asks for equal rights for all nationalities in Romania. At the present time, it is the party that has reportedly gained the most memberships. In its introductory text, it states: "The PNP receives in its ranks any honest citizen who supports its program, including former members of the Communist Party, provided they did not occupy important posts and did not compromise themselves morally under the dictatorship."

The National Liberal Party (PNL) submitted its application for registration almost at the same time. It is the heir to the former National Liberal Party, the first party founded in Romania in 1866. It claims 100,000 members. The main points of its program are those of any liberal party: guarantees for individual rights, real separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government, the rehabilitation of democracy, and its protection by institutions guaranteeing it. Freedom of religion, respect for equal rights of all minorities, elimination of agricultural cooperatives and nationalization,

"the gradual privatization of economic units and their reorganization based on the principles of profitability within the framework of a market economy." The National Liberal Party was originally the most conservative of all Romanian parties before the Communist dictatorship. Today it has become the most modernistic and even the most realistic. "The National Liberal Party believes that Romania must respect its obligations stemming from the Warsaw Pact by improving relations with member states and, at the same time, develop close bonds of friendship with traditional allies."

The Social Democratic Party, formed in the wake of the December revolution, had previously scarcely been heard of. It is headed by Sergiu Cunesco and Adian Dimitriu. It has taken the title of the Social Democratic Party founded in 1927.

* Iliescu Yields to Demands

90EB0244D Paris LIBERATION in French
29 Jan 90 p 4

[Article by Marc Semo: "The Front Had Indeed Discharged Ballast"]

[Text] "It is out of the question to participate in government as a mere spectator. We want to have an impact on all decisions." The tone is urbane but determined; the opposition will not be content with mere side seats. Radu Campeanu, general secretary of the National Liberal Party (PNL), the oldest political grouping of the then monarchical Romania, is determined to maintain pressure on the National Salvation Front. The NSF is both the embryo of a legislative branch, inasmuch as its council of 150 members coopted on 22 December, then slightly modified, represents a kind of revolutionary "parliament" that must formally approve the orders of Petre Roman's government. At the same time, it is a party, even if it rejects the label, since it will present its own candidates in the 20 May election.

"We tried to explain to them that we are not challenging that right, but also the fact that they cannot be both judge and participant. This merger of the government and the party brings back too many bad memories. The NSF cannot mobilize the government without being elected democratically and, at the same time, going into the electoral arena," emphasizes Campeanu, who was president of the Liberal Youth after World War I, imprisoned for nine years, and a blue-collar worker before becoming an engineer once again and emigrating to France in 1973. He did not return to Romania until 29 December, a few days after the revolution.

The NSF must become a political group like all the others, with the same rights and the same privileges. On this point, the three major opposition parties are unanimous. The National Peasant Party and its historic leader Corneliu Coposu, 74, 17 of those years spent in labor camps, is even more categorical: "We are asking that the Front simply be dissolved." With the Social Democratic Party, the peasants and liberals signed a

joint text Saturday: "The NSF must be replaced by a Council of National Unity, along with the other parties and representative personalities." The latter will form a coalition government that will last until the elections. Some would be more inclined toward a government of technocrats, politically neutral and effective. At any rate, this is the demand of the demonstrators who since Wednesday have gathered in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where the FSN is meeting. They constantly chant: "Resign, resign, resign," which was also the slogan of yesterday's major demonstration.

NSF President Iliescu feared the success of this demonstration. During the night Friday, his chief of staff telephoned the leaders of the three parties to summon them to an emergency meeting Saturday morning. "The summons did not surprise me. The NSF is terribly afraid of street demonstrations. Now it knows it no longer enjoys any real credibility," Campeanu says. Iliescu was conciliatory, even very conciliatory, at the meeting. He knew he was discharging ballast in order to relieve a still very tense situation. His first decision was to announce the lifting of the ban on demonstrations scheduled for Sunday. The NSF also promised that parties would have the means to make their platforms known. They would have broad access to the media and offices not only in Bucharest, but in all the provincial cities, even those like Timisoara or Arad, where the Army has kicked liberals and peasants out of newly won premises. The different parties will be able to submit their requests and detail their needs to a specialized organ.

What is even more significant: The president of the Front has agreed that the final version of the election law still being discussed with the opposition must be submitted for their previous approval. The Front and the three major parties will sign it together. During the three-hour meeting, the Front even accepted the principle of a coalition government. "I have the impression that Iliescu was very receptive to our requests. The contact was good, but from there to saying I trust his promises...." Campeanu sighed.

* Emigres Criticize Dinescu

90EB0244F Paris LIBERATION in French
29 Jan 90 p 5

[Article by G.S.: "Dinescu Under Fire"]

[Text] "It is natural for demonstrations to be staged in Romania and not just every two weeks, but every day. The people should be able to shout 'Down with the government!' whenever they want to keep the government healthy. Unfortunately, the government is not healthy!" At a debate at the FNAC-Montparnasse [National Purchasing Federation-Montparnasse] Saturday and on the eve of the Bucharest demonstration, poet Mircea Dinescu faced the thunderous opposition of Romanian exiles in Paris.

A member of the NSFC, coordinator of the Group for Social Dialogue, and president of the Writers Union, he

has distanced himself from the Front's latest decisions, worrying about possible "panic" reactions. "We have not yet found the forms for dialogue between the people and the NSFC," he explained.

Dinescu also criticized television taking a similar tack. "Romanian television is said to be free but is not yet. We have not yet attacked Iliescu or Dinescu on television. That would be better for us and for television."

In a tension-filled atmosphere, Dinescu was greeted with a tract entitled "Welcome to the collaborators!" The libel accused him of writing poems to the glory of Ceausescu. To one participant who blamed him for participating in a government that sought to "build a democracy out of the debris of totalitarianism," Dinescu replied that "in a month, one cannot annihilate an apparatus that operated for 40 years. The head has been cut off, but the body is still alive." He argued for his own "amateurism" as well as that of other Front leaders such as Silviu Brucan and was told for his trouble that "that amateurism is called communism."

Dinescu then rose to read a poem. After all, he said, "That is what I came for."

* Effectiveness of Demonstrations Examined

90EB0254C Bucharest LUMEA AZI in Romanian
1 Feb 90 p 2

[Editorial by Ilie Serbanescu: "The Street and the Country"]

[Text] Events with dangerous consequences for the stability, democratization, and the image of the country around the world have taken place in recent days. Restraint and understanding on the part of all political forces are mandatory if the situation created is to be overcome.

Everything was started by the opposition, especially by the historic parties, the National Peasant Party (PNT), National Liberal Party (PNL), and Social Democratic Party (SDP), to the decision by the National Salvation Front (NSF) to participate in the elections. Beyond any other arguments, what these parties have criticized the NSF for is the fact that by making this decision it has violated its own previously enacted decree law on separation of government power from political power. Until a Constituent Assembly is formed after the elections, the NSF Council will represent the organ of state power, which it exercises through decree laws and decrees. How could the NSF, runs the argument of the historic parties, be an organ of state power and at the same time a political force participating in the elections without violating its own decision to separate state power from political power? In other words, how could it be both a provisional "parliament" and a party (regardless of whether it terms itself such or not), or how could the "parliament" itself participate in the elections?

The reality is that the NSF Council should have combined its decision to participate in the elections from the outset with a solution to this institutional problem. The NSF Council did in fact suggest a solution, but one which was not fully conclusive, making a distinction between the NSF Council as an organ of power in the state until the elections and the NSF as a political movement entitled to participate in elections, within which it will present candidates proposed from below and not ones established by the Council.

The historic parties have demanded resignation of the NSF Council so that the NSF may run in the elections. A state of confusion has ensued. The NSF Council has opened a dialogue to find solutions. The historic parties have presented the alternative of forming a council (or a body having another name) in which all the political parties will take part and in which the NSF as a political movement would be on the same level as the parties in participation in elections. The NSF Council has not rejected any proposal, and a solution is to be arrived at through negotiations.

It was of course the right for the historic parties to draw attention to the institutional situation and to make proposals connected with it, but there was no longer any room for the pressures applied by street demonstrations to impose a particular step, in that the dialogue had gotten underway and solutions were to have been found by negotiation. It is understandable that the historic parties wanted to show by means of the 28 January demonstration that they had a certain following, but the demands for resignation or self-dismissal of the NSF Council represented an anachronistic tactic after the dialogue had been opened. Probably sensing the mistake, the leader of one of the historic parties, the secretary general of the PNL, rather than take part personally in the dialogue necessitated by the situation in the streets, preferred to go on television, where he alluded to the constructive conclusions of the dialogue held with the NSF Council the previous day, a short time after which he announced withdrawal of PNL demonstrators from the meeting. It is said, however, that many persons did not heed the call for withdrawal.

What was achieved by this meeting? The primary result was unquestionably strengthening of the NSF, which showed itself ready to enter into dialogue and to find solutions, but not under pressure. In addition, throngs of pro-NSF demonstrators came out into the streets, demonstrating vehemently against the historic parties. The secondary result was a certain erosion of the positions of the historic parties.

This was the result of a wrong tactical move by the historic parties of overplaying their hand. From their viewpoint, but not from the other, these parties could have hoped for a consolidation, by waiting without exerting pressure for the results of the dialogue initiated and counting as their electoral capital any delays in solving the institutional problems raised.

At least for the time being it appears that the opportunity for crystallization of a solid opposition has been lost. In any democracy, such an opposition acts as a counter-weight guaranteeing the preservation of this democracy and its values.

What is to be done now? Perhaps it is a comfort to some to participate in the discussions of the opposing sides and in demonstrations for and against. It might be said that this is evidence of democracy, in contrast to the monolithic nature and superficial unanimity of the period of the dictatorship. In a way this may be so, but very careful thought must be devoted to the current situation in the country. We are not in a normal situation, with firmly entrenched structures, and especially with an economy operating on its own, regardless of political confrontations. Any confrontations destabilize

even further an economy which is already out of joint. And it is on normal functioning of the economy that provision of basic services allowing us to subsist depends.

And we live nowhere else but in Europe, from which we had been shut out and which we wish to rejoin. The revolution fashioned a triumphant reentry for us. Let us not spoil or compromise it. We must be understanding and patient. Structures have already taken shape which no longer permit imposition of opinions and actions by a single party. There must be trust. Not trust unlimited, but in any event until proof to the contrary is presented we must give it. Nothing can replace dialogue—constructive, calm dialogue—to change the locale of the revolution from the streets to the workplace. And our image in Europe will only be brightened.

DANAS on German Unification, Reparations*LD2202125390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1118 GMT
22 Feb 90*

[Text] Zagreb, February 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is not and cannot be the principal factor in the process of unification of the two German states despite the fact that it is a member-country of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the anti-Hitler coalition. However, as one of the small European countries which suffered German aggression during the war it has the right and should articulate its stands and interests in this process, the Zagreb weekly DANAS writes on Thursday.

When the unification of the two German states is realized, the question of reparations will become topical not only for Yugoslavia but also for other countries which suffered German aggression, the paper recalls. DANAS also notes that war damages and the fate of around 600,000 Yugoslavs living in West Germany, who are threatened by lay-offs under the current wave of labour force from the East, will also become live issues.

Bearing in mind that Yugoslavia has received some favourable loans from West Germany, the paper notes that this (?cannot) be neglected in relation to a possible revision of the original demand for reparations, the papers says.

Germany To Be Pressed for War Compensation*LD2102131690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1130 GMT
21 Feb 90*

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia will, as soon as the conditions are ripe, take all steps to realize its claims to the heirs of the Third Reich for compensation to Yugoslav citizens, victims of fascism, the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry said in a statement on Wednesday.

Yugoslavia will be able to make its claims after the signing of a peace accord with the heirs of the Third Reich. Prospects for this exist [word indistinct] due to the opening of the question of the German reunification.

War damage claims stemming from World War Two are not subject to expiry from historic and moral reasons. Yugoslavia's claims are legally based on the 1953 London international agreement, which put a stop to further Yugoslav claims until the "signing of a peace accord with Germany." The accord has never been signed because West Germany says it is only "one of the heirs."

Yugoslavia and the heirs of the Third Reich will have to fully settle the problem of reparations, compensation to former in-mates of concentration and forced labour camps and prisoners of war. Also requiring a solution is the problem of compensation to the victims of Nazi persecution on the basis of national, racial and ideological discrimination.

In the name of reparations in the limited sense (direct war damages) and under the 1946 Paris agreement, Yugoslavia has filed for \$36 billion. It has managed to collect less than 0.1 percent, and this in machinery and transport vehicles. As compensation for live experiments, the survivors received eight million Deutschmarks [DM] and Yugoslavs taken to forced labour camps in Germany during the war got 26 million DM in social security.

Yugoslavia's bilateral demand for compensation to victims of Nazi persecution sent in 1962 to West Germany was rejected, but a partial solution was reached in the form of "longterm economic cooperation between the two countries," on the basis of which an agreement on a 300-million DM advance was signed in 1972.

The statement says that at present there exist two possibilities for compensating the Yugoslav citizens. One would be the willingness of certain West German firms to reimburse foreign workers on forced labor during the war. The other refers to people who were victims of the German Wehrmacht or other organizations as their members.

Drnovsek Views EFTA Membership With Swede*LD1902220190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1905 GMT 19 Feb 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Drnovsek this evening received Anita Gradin, Swedish minister at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in charge of foreign trade, who is visiting our country as the chairman of the mixed commission for cooperation between the SFRY and the EFTA [European Free Trade Association].

In the course of the talks with Mrs. Anita Gradin, special attention was paid to concrete issues regarding cooperation between Yugoslavia and the EFTA within the framework of our country's orientation toward building closer links with and joining European economic units.

During the talks about economic and political reforms in our country, President Drnovsek expressed the expectation that the process of Yugoslavia's joining the EFTA as a full-member will be speeded-up now.

Both sides noted that to date cooperation between Yugoslavia and the EFTA in various areas has been successful and expressed the conviction that the forthcoming session of the mixed commission will provide a new impetus regarding cooperation which will represent a significant step in Yugoslavia's forging further closer links with the EFTA.

Franc Horvat, Federal Executive Council member and federal secretary for foreign trade, attended the talks.

Kosovo Body Rejects European Parliament Demands

*LD1902093290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1545 GMT
18 Feb 90*

[Text] Pristina, Feb 18 (TANJUG)—At a time when Albanian separatists and terrorists are jeopardizing the principal human rights and freedom of other nations and nationalities in Kosovo, the concern of the European Parliament about the allegedly threatened rights of Albanians in the province is unfounded, the alternative organisation "Committee for Truth about Kosovo" said today.

The European Parliament's assessments on Kosovo do not correspond to the truth, but reflect the stands of Albanian emigres in West Europe, the committee warns. It further stresses that Albanian emigres in the West and alternative Albanian movements in Kosovo are in fact trying to legalize terrorism and win the support of European and world public under the mask of democracy.

Hiding behind the alleged demands for democracy, aimed at misguiding the world public opinion, Albanian separatists and terrorists have staged the worst possible terrorist acts, the committee stresses.

It points out that the latest armed attacks by Albanian separatists and terrorists are a result of a long-prepared attack on the Yugoslav legal state in order to secede Kosovo from the Republic of Serbia and annex it to neighbouring Albania.

Israeli Municipal Delegation Visits

*LD1602111990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1946 GMT
15 Feb 90*

[Text] Valjevo, Feb 15 (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Israeli town of Rehovot arrived today in Valjevo, a town in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, to sign a charter establishing friendly ties between the two towns.

This is the first Israeli delegation to officially visit Yugoslavia after the break of diplomatic relations with that country in 1967, following the Israeli occupation of Arab territories.

Demands are increasingly voiced in Yugoslavia for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel. The two countries last year exchanged goods worth 40 million dollars.

Suvar Federal Chamber Speech Reported

*LD1502002490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Feb (TANJUG)—Explaining the proposal for the adoption of the new SFRY Constitution in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, Dr. Stipe Suvar recalled that a special group of political experts and a broad circle of scholars, public workers, and constitutional law experts throughout the country

had worked on it. Representatives of the presidencies of all the republics and provinces and of certain organs and organizations of the federation also were in the group. The work was done and discussed in a tolerant and democratic manner.

Suvar went on to stress that complete unanimity was achieved on the concept and objectives of the adopting the new Constitution, as well as on the basic directions of the changes in areas relating to the rights and freedoms of citizens, constitutionality and legality, and the development of the judiciary and economic-political systems. Differences were manifested on some issues, primarily on the question of relations within the Federation. However, the SFRY Presidency believes that differences can be overcome in the course of the overall procedure concerning the adoption of the new Constitution. That is why it has come up with some alternative solutions, being convinced that in both expert and broader public discussion, and also within the context of cooperation of all those deciding on the Constitution, the best, that is to say, satisfactory solutions will be devised.

It is up to you now, Suvar added, in cooperation with the assemblies of the socialist republics and of the socialist autonomous provinces, to express your views on the proposal so that if everyone's agreement is attained, the Constitutional Commission of this assembly then can tackle the drafting of the new Constitution.

We all are aware of the importance of a public discussion in which the citizens of our country put forward their views and proposals to insure that the new Constitution is as good as possible and that it expresses as consistently as possible the interests and the aspirations if not of everyone, at least of an overwhelming majority of our people in the field of human freedoms and the rights of our citizens, human relations, economic prosperity and social well-being, as well as in the field of our country's incorporation in the most progressive international developments and aspirations.

The SFRY Presidency believes that the adoption of the new Constitution must insure the development, enrichment, and strengthening of the basic values of our society. They are: a new type of socialism, self-management based on realistic and rational foundations, democracy, the freedoms and rights of our people and citizens, the equality of our nations and nationalities, the federal nature of our community, the independence of our country, all-people's defense, striving for peace and cooperation in the world, and the equality of all the people, peoples, and countries. Our overall future constitutional and legal system should be built and developed on these basic values.

The basic objective in adopting the new Constitution is that its provisions and application should contribute to the development of our society as an economically

successful democratic, progressive, and humane society. As a basic, and primarily as a legal act, the Constitution should insure the existence and functioning of a law-governed state that will be both socialist and democratic. At the same time, it is a charter with which the nations and nationalities in our country, in keeping with present and future requirements, will settle their life together in full equality and by sharing the wish that our multinational community again may become harmonious and live as such in the European house of nations and be present and respected throughout the world.

As you were able to read, the SFRY Presidency advocates a modern, short Constitution, devoid of superfluous ideopolitical and declarative elements, and which in a clear, concise, and consistent way—expresses the legal and political essence and basis of the functioning of the states, of all our legal subjects, and of all legal institutions in our society. This presupposes the greatest possible deconstitutionalization and deregulation of overall social relations.

The whole concept of the new Constitution proceeds from the freedoms and rights of our people and citizens which insure the physical, moral, intellectual, and political integrity of the individual. The new Constitution must help the spread and genuine enrichment of these freedoms and rights and should provide their effective protection.

For this reason, the proposal for adopting the new Constitution, Suvar said, proceeds from the principle that anything the Constitution or the law does not explicitly forbid is permitted and that the limits of citizens' freedoms and the rights are determined only by compliance with the same rights and freedoms enjoyed by others and by the restrictions laid down by the Constitution. The proposal also pleads that constitutional freedoms and rights should be extended through new rights constituting the gains of contemporary attainments of our civilization, that the necessary harmony be established among the freedoms, rights and duties, and changes in our economic and political system, and that equality of all the citizens be insured regardless of their political and religious convictions and national membership or lack of it, and that finally, the possibility for a subjective and arbitrary interpretation of the basic stipulations about the rights and freedoms is eliminated. [passage indistinct]

In this context, political parties have emerged and are emerging which display the clear intent to become involved in the reshaping of internal borders and in "sorting out" relations between our nations on the blood and territory principles. Unfortunately, nationalistic tendencies have penetrated deep into the heart of the only political party so far, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], which for half a century has played a cohesive role as our main political factor, Suvar stressed.

The development of democracy and a truly established democratic system based on a law-governed state and an

efficient economy in a single Yugoslav market, as a party of the world market, is the only obstacle to these destructive manifestations and the only chance to marginalize these manifestations, preventing them from posing a threat either to Yugoslavia or to relations of equality and togetherness within it. We must observe the relations between the federation and its members from that point of view, as well.

The right of the nations to self-determination remains the basis of the federal system in Yugoslavia. This is why it has been proposed that the new Constitution should elaborate the procedure for possible secession and in so doing, remove inconsistencies in the interpretation of the current constitutional formulation, which is one of principle, and avoid the danger whereby every republic regulates this matter in accordance with its own perceptions.

The SFRY Constitution must lay down the issues of essential significance for national equality, which should be decided on the basis of an accord between the assemblies and the republics and autonomous provinces.

As far as the status of the socialist autonomous provinces is concerned, the SFRY Presidency believes that the federation should guarantee their autonomy, proceeding from the fact that they are not states and that therefore they cannot be a constituent element of the federation. However, they should be represented in the organs of the federation in an appropriate way and should participate in the decisionmaking process, but should not, to give an example, foil the changes in or the adoption of the SFRY Constitution.

In laying down the federation's jurisdiction and functions, it is essential for the new Constitution to reduce them to what is absolutely necessary and rational, but appropriate to any modern, democratic federal community. In this sense, those functions the republics can carry out better and more rationally should not be transferred to the federation.

Proceeding from the unified principles and bases of our economic and political system, which are laid down in the SFRY Constitution, the republics should regulate their economic relations, institutions of the political system, and internal organizations in an independent and free manner.

The federation, on the other hand, apart from prescribing the principles and the bases of our economic and political system, should guarantee the basic freedoms and rights of our people and citizens, and should also concern itself with the preservation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity, security, and defense of our country, with its international position, and with its relations with other state and international organizations. Of course, the measures insuring equal conditions of economic operations, unity of the Yugoslav market, and equality of economic factors also would come within its jurisdiction. This also implies the establishment of basic mechanisms of macroeconomic features, such as

the credit-monetary, taxation, and foreign currency system, and policy and economic relations with foreign countries.

Suvar went on to stress that the proposed basic line of changes and the specific solutions mentioned in the proposal put forward by the Presidency are not the only possible or exclusive solutions. In the future, too, better democratic solutions will enjoy an undoubted priority.

In addition, we tried to abandon the existing constitutional solutions that were not confirmed as applicable in our specific sociohistoric conditions.

Since what we are discussing is an initiative, we introduced alternative solutions into our proposals. Such solutions are envisaged with regard to the procedure to change the SFRY Constitution, the future structure of the SFRY Assembly and the jurisdiction of its chambers, the election of the members of the SFRY Presidency, as well as some issues regarding the representation in the federation and cooperation in the decisionmaking process by socialist autonomous provinces.

In light of the fact that in the final stage of the adoption of the new Constitution, the agreement of the assemblies of all the republics and provinces is required, the SFRY Presidency believes that the alternative solutions also should be looked at during the formulation of the first draft, and subsequently of the proposed Constitution, in a well-argued manner, comprehensively, and in a full democratic and tolerant debate.

We in the SFRY Presidency believe that the very fact that a consensus has been more or less attained in Yugoslavia, both with regard to the nature of production relations, a market economy with various forms of ownership and their equality, and all the methods of economic management particular to the market economy, and with regard to our commitment to a political democracy of the multiparty type, a favorable climate has been created for work to be done on a comprehensively new Constitution.

True, a social atmosphere of rampant passions, political euphorias, and conflicts still prevails. We should not entertain any illusions that this condition will not prevail in the future, as well. But the very thing we are discussing is that the Constitution should proclaim the basic democratic rules for the functioning of our society and state whereby the differences in interests will be harmonized and Yugoslavia will be both a country of differences and one of uniform joint aspirations, the protagonists of which all will be legal subjects, ranging from the citizens to economic factors, state organs, and legal protagonists of political life, and that it also should be a country and a community in which all the nations and nationalities living in it truly will feel that they live in their own home, free, and on an equal footing.

With the Constitution, we must express our aspirations to adopt and nurture all the best achievements of European democracy while at the same time preserving

everything the freedom-loving tradition in our lands and the social and political revolution in Yugoslavia has changed in depth and attained as our own special achievement since the moment when half a century ago it came into being during the national liberation war and was victorious.

Regardless of the differences that emerged as early as during the proposal's drafting, we do not see any obvious reason why the path of the dialogue and coordination which was manifested during the work on the proposal and the adoption of the new Constitution should not be continued, but without squabbles and petty calculations depending on the prevailing conditions.

The entire philosophy—if I may put it like that—behind the new Constitution could, in fact, be expressed as an effort to attain the best realistically possible freedoms and rights enjoyed by individuals as citizens, and also to preserve the identity, equality, and togetherness of our nations and nationalities, said Dr. Stipe Suvar, explaining the proposal by the SFRY Presidency to the delegates of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

Further Reportage on Situation in Kosovo

Kosovo 'Calm'; Albanians Strike

LD2202135190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1212 GMT
22 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, Feb 22 (TANJUG)—The situation in the Yugoslav Kosovo Province, where a curfew was imposed yesterday to quell riots by ethnic Albanian separatists, was calm until noon Thursday.

There were no demonstrations and mass gatherings, although ethnic Albanian pupils are continuing a boycott of classes in the majority of schools. The Kosovo economy is suffering from the results of weeks-long political strikes by ethnic Albanian workers, defying a decision on compulsory work orders imposed by the Yugoslav State Presidency last February.

The Pristina University president called on all students to regularly attend classes. The state and security organs were requested to take all legal measures to secure peace and order in the student centre, which houses both ethnic Albanian students as well as Serbians, Montenegrins and Moslems.

Curfews in Force; Classes Boycotted

AU2202174790 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene
1430 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Srecko Pirtovsek report from Pristina]

[Text] Although it is apparently calm in Kosovo today, much tension is felt in the air. This is very eloquently demonstrated by the very numerous police control measures and checking of identity papers. In Urosevac,

members of the special militia units are stopping pedestrians in the center of the town, demanding identity papers and frisking them.

Since yesterday, a curfew has been in force in Kosovo from 2100-0400. Even journalists have been unable to obtain special passes for work during that time.

There are no classes at most schools. It is estimated that as many as 90 percent of ethnic Albanian students are still boycotting classes. The rectorate and the deans of Pristina University today appealed to all the students and workers to resume regular studies and work. If not, they may be punished with expulsion from the university. Many Kosovo work organizations are also not working.

Kosovo is thus marked by great tension and intensified police checks again today. It is interesting that despite the arrival of the Yugoslav People's Army units yesterday, these have not been seen in the streets.

'Terrorist Action' in Titova Mitrovica

*AU2202144290 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] We have just received this piece of news from our correspondent from Pristina. According to his report, a terrorist action [words indistinct] was carried out in the center of Titova Mitrovica exactly at noon. Three terrorists drove through the town in a passenger car and shot at militia with a pistol. According to reports received so far, no militiamen were wounded.

Two terrorists were caught after a half hour, while the third one, (?Basri Hajdari) is still on the run.

Quiet Attributed to Army, Curfew

*LD2202222490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1550 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Text] Pristina, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—After the recent violent demonstrations and gatherings of Albanians, it is quiet in Kosovo today. Judging by external appearances, it might even be said that this was a normal day similar to those in other places outside Kosovo.

There were no disturbances, apart from an attempted demonstration by a group of about 50 Albanians in Vucitrn who marched through the town center. However, they quickly fled when members of the police arrived. A large group of Albanians today set out from Srbica for Titova Mitrovica in buses and tractors when they heard misinformation that Adrijana Abrasi, who was injured in demonstrations the day before yesterday, had died of her injuries. Strong police forces prevented their entry into Titova Mitrovica without using force.

This relative peace in Kosovo has certainly been attributed to the latest measures and decisions of the SFRY Presidency and, above all, the emergence of armored mechanized units of the Yugoslav People's Army from their barracks.

Some took advantage of the calm to hold political meetings in the province. Among the most important was the session of the Kosovo Trade Unions Presidium, which again drew attention to the huge damage as a result of the several-day-long strikes in many Kosovo collectives.

These warnings have not really been heeded as demonstrated by today's continuation of these stoppages. There were strikes in a large number of collectives in Urosevac, Podujevo, Suva Reka, Srbica.... Among the collectives on strike are also a significant number of those which were set up in association with enterprises outside Kosovo.

In Pristina today there has been much comment on the introduction of a curfew in Kosovo, and especially the (un)expected [TANJUG Parenthesis] reaction to this necessary measure by a number of students and citizens of the Albanian nationality. From many buildings, as if by agreement, last night at 2100 [2000 GMT] banging, applause, and heckling were heard. Some even cheered Adem Demaci and Azem Vlasi. All of this was adorned with candles, which again were burning inside the windows of buildings in Pristina.

A group of students of Albanian nationality marked the beginning of the introduction of the curfew by demonstratively going out into the area in front of the student residence halls, shouting well-known slogans.

It seems that during the past night the police, who were going about their business of maintaining public order and peace, nevertheless fared the worst. It has been learned that some of them who were on duty in front of buildings had canned food and other objects thrown at them. However, the police did not react to these inappropriate actions by citizens of Albanian nationality.

It remains to be seen whether this vandalistic and uncivilized method of expressing disapproval of the curfew's introduction will be repeated this evening as well. Inhabitants of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, who experience this as yet another of the many perfidious pressures on them, are especially thinking about this with a measure of anxiety.

Shouts, Shots During Pristina Curfew

*AU2202213990 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Kosovo]

[Text] At precisely 2100, when the Pristina streets became deserted, whistling and shouting were heard from the windows and balconies in almost all the districts of the Kosovo capital. Just as last night, when the provincial secretary for internal affairs' order for imposing the curfew came into force, shots were heard in Pristina. Candles were lit in windows.

Noise and (?shouting) are most pronounced in Pristina's Vranjevac district—this district has been the scene of the

fiercest demonstrations by Albanian separatists in the province's capital in the past few months—and in the Suncani Breg district.

The well-known hostile slogans ring out all over the city. The song is sung, I gave my word that I would give my life for Kosovo; and slogans are being shouted: Democracy; Kosovo-Yes, Metohija-No; Death to Slobodan Milosevic and Rahman Morina; All Kosovo is for equality and unity.

The howling has been going on for almost an hour. The Albanian nationalists and separatists are in this way disobeying the order by the Yugoslav state's legal authorities.

An order is in force in the province banning the movement of citizens between 2100 in the evening until 0400 in the morning.

FEC Sees Solution in Dialogue

LD2202190890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1738 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—At today's session, chaired by Ante Markovic, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] considered the political and security situation in Kosovo. In connection with this, it pointed out the need for a consistent and thorough implementation of the stances and conclusions reached at the FEC session held on the 29th of January. It also judged, the FEC Secretariat for Information states, that the measures undertaken in the province and based on the decisions of the SFRY Presidency and the FEC are aimed at preventing efforts by separatist forces to jeopardize, through exacerbation of relations in Kosovo, the country's integrity, freedom, citizens' rights, and the safety of property and which are aimed at hindering a political dialogue with progressive forces in the province.

All measures currently undertaken are aimed at creating the necessary preconditions to embark on a political solution to Kosovo's problems. For that reason, attention was drawn to the necessity to begin a dialogue with all progressive forces in the province which want the preservation of the integrity of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the implementation of economic and political reforms, after the situation is normalized in the province. That dialogue is necessary in order to prevent attempts by separatist forces to prove that all Albanians in Kosovo want the province's secession from Yugoslavia. The FEC, within the framework of its constitutional powers, together with empowered bodies in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Kosovo, is daily undertaking all measures of a law-governed state in order to implement the conclusions of the SFRY Assembly, the SFRY Presidency, and the FEC and the measures of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, to establish public order and peace and respect for legality.

It was also judged that public disorders and violence by separatists and terrorists obstruct the implementation of economic reform in the province. A paralysis of economic activity inflicts enormous damage not only on Kosovo's economy, but the economies of other parts of the country, and, thereby, Yugoslavia as a whole. Hence the FEC, in line with its orientations about the measures needed in Kosovo, concludes that joint cooperation between state bodies and the economic chambers of Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and Yugoslavia must be intensified. In so doing, communication with managing boards of economic organizations would have to be established, with the aim of providing support and assistance to them so that the economy could function normally.

All state organs in this province, from the level of local communities and municipalities to the level of the province, must be able to carry out their tasks and duties in keeping with their competence.

Considering the fact that the information system in the province is not functioning in the way demanded by the present political situation, the FEC maintains that it is necessary to establish much better communication, via the media, between the state organs and the progressive political forces and the people. In this way the real truth will be made known about what is happening in Kosovo and what the real aims of the separatists and terrorist forces are.

The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and Justice are charged with the duty of submitting a report on the measures taken by the internal affairs organs while quelling the demonstrations by Albanian nationalists and separatists.

The FEC also adopted the stance at today's session that, in order to ensure consistent implementation of the program to curb inflation in the sphere of personal spending, it is necessary to limit the outgoing payments from the funds of the direct collective expenditures, as well as other expenditures in the sphere of personal incomes, so they can be confined within the socially-agreed framework cumulatively from 1 January 1990. To this effect the Code of Practice on the methods of establishing the funds for paying net personal incomes, on the method of drawing up final accounts, and on the way of presenting them to the Yugoslav Social Accountability Service, has been revised.

Jovic Addresses Assembly on Kosovo

AU1802132790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
10-11 Feb 90 p 15

[Unattributed report on speech by SFRY Presidency member Borisav Jovic at the joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade on 9 February: "We Are at a Critical Stage"]

[Text] The discussion of the situation in the country which is taking place in the Yugoslav Assembly, following a report by and the participation of the SFRY Presidency, has justifiably caused great interest not only among the Yugoslav public but also in the world. This is understandable because our country is at an important crossroads on the way to finding the way out of the crisis. This is all the more so because in the last few days the most serious crisis point in Yugoslavia—Kosovo—has stirred up and disturbed our country, said Borisav Jovic on behalf of the SFRY Presidency.

All of us who are participating in the debate bear a huge responsibility. Our country has recently been going through political traumas because of dangerous elements in the gradual disintegration of Yugoslav organizations and institutions. Our citizens openly fear that this session will even be the beginning of the end of even the most important state institutions.

The extent to which this is true is shown by the fact that the simple announcement that the president of the SFRY Presidency would be speaking on behalf of the SFRY Presidency and not in his own name was met with applause. It is clear how far we have come if an obvious fact that is inconceivable in any other way in the rational world is applauded. Nevertheless, it is encouraging because the applause shows that this Assembly is really aspiring to unity, said Jovic.

It would be regrettable for destructive disunity to throw us into an abyss today when we are close to certain success in crushing inflation and success in economic and political reforms. That would mean that base interests, intolerance, exclusivity, and spite would make the political, economic, and cultural prosperity of our peoples and nationalities impossible.

We are living at a time when we are correcting the mistakes that have been made in the past. It must be clear to us that it is much more difficult to correct mistakes in the system—which we must now do—than to make these mistakes. Despite this, we have every opportunity to show the world that Yugoslavia is capable, in spite of all its differences and contradictions, of resolving the problems that have amassed without the very great agonies and upheavals that other countries of socialist orientation are experiencing. We are at the critical stage where we should prove this and be recognized in the world in this way.

Allow me to say—and I believe that you also think this—that this spirit has basically dominated the debate over the last two days. Full unity has been shown in support for the program of economic reforms and in crushing inflation. The maximum level of unity has been demonstrated on the need to work out a new Constitution and on the need to partially change the existing Constitution. A high level of tolerance and unity has also been shown concerning the direction of these reforms.

Great interest has been expressed in reducing interethnic tensions and interrepublican disputes. Let us hope that

we are on the way—and all of us should contribute to this—to ensure that the sparks that have been flying here today and yesterday, and are still present, disappear more quickly and are extinguished so that this distinguished chamber can begin working as soon as possible in an atmosphere of tolerance and trust.

Comrades, Yugoslavia's fate is obviously nowadays concentrated around the problem of Kosovo. This was mentioned the most during the discussion. It could be seen today that the entire Yugoslav drama is reflected in and entwined around the question of Kosovo. Kosovo has become a barometer of the Yugoslav political climate—but let us be self-critical—and it is also to a great extent a victim of the general inter-republican conflicts.

We are all obliged to work toward resolving the Kosovo problem and toward preventing a deepening of this problem.

Despite all our differences, there is a high level of agreement that the territorial integrity of the country and its constitutional order is "on the table" in Kosovo. This involves the most sacred matters for which we are all jointly responsible before the whole country and all the peoples and nationalities. This "game" in Kosovo has lasted for a long time. The latest events—whether we want to admit this or not—have unfortunately been spurred on by the differences that have been manifested. Instead of disharmony and quarrels about Kosovo, we need talks about a more efficient realization of the programs that have been adopted and new programs for development, and the resolution of numerous long-term problems in Kosovo.

As regards occupying territory or taking power—and there have been attempts to do this in recent days—the SFRY Presidency is determined that in such a case all means available in a law-governed state, including the use of force, must immediately be used to restore the territory and legal authority, and to ensure that every institution functions.

The separatists' aims have not changed despite the new slogans that they have been stressing. Earlier, they would hide behind Tito, but now they are hiding behind democracy. However, they have always kept their main slogan of "Kosovo, republic" and they now explain that this implies secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia. Of course, this explanation is for those who did not understand this even before.

The separatist movement's idea is to destroy Yugoslavia's integrity. There has been a clear continuation in this respect. Apart from the slogans that they are hiding behind, there is a new method of operating which is increasingly escalating into an armed rebellion. In this sense, the separatist intentions that were outlined last year here in the Yugoslav Assembly and assessed by the former SFRY Presidency are being realized.

Unfortunately there has also been a new and seriously alarming increase in disunity in our country, which

weakens our ability to act and makes nationalist and separatist activities in Kosovo easier. There can be no disputing this. We are all responsible for this. It is dangerous when the means of the law-governed state are challenged as they are being implemented in order to ensure that the constitutional order functions in Kosovo or to provide measures for the responsible state organs, with the aim of wiping out the actions and demands of the separatists. It is even worse when they are openly condoned. Perhaps we are not always aware that we are thus working against ourselves.

Some of the alliances—political alliances in Kosovo—that have been set up are publicly and openly approving the separatist demands of the demonstrators and terrorists. There is much evidence that this involves two fronts of one action—a political front and a front of the policy of struggle for the same aims.

In this connection, demands for more democracy are being stressed—and we support and desire this—but peace is needed for this and not vandalism and terrorism. Democracy can be relied upon under the condition that a law-governed state functions. There can be no democratic shift under conditions of nationalist and separatist violence and unrest.

There is no doubt that we will make the resolution of problems in Kosovo easier through the upcoming economic and political reforms if we successfully implement them. However, do not be under any illusions. We must bear in mind that the problem of separatism is a political problem, separate from all the others and able to withstand all our reforms if we do not realize what this really is all about.

As regards the SFRY Presidency and its responsibility for prompt and effective action, we are not running away from our responsibility. We are not immune to the illness that our country is suffering from, but we are responsible for carrying out our tasks efficiently and responsibly even under these conditions.

In connection with some speeches, allow me to draw your attention to the fact that the SFRY Presidency has exclusive responsibility in some issues of national defense and the use of the Armed Forces, but when this involves the security service, the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council have joint responsibility.

Proposing and carrying out the decisions that are made by the SFRY Presidency falls within the jurisdiction of the Federal Executive Council and the appropriate federal secretariats and other organs. We therefore do not understand why these organs of the Federal Executive Council and the federal secretariats are praised, while at the same time the SFRY Presidency is criticized, because either we were all late or we all worked well, at least as far as this case is concerned.

This is not the only example of such differences being made in assessing the activities and tasks on which the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council are

cooperating and working jointly. The artificial and pointless separation of state organs, whereby each carry out their tasks in their own domain and successfully cooperate, is neither objective nor can be of any use to anyone.

Jovic said finally that the SFRY Presidency had sworn an oath before this Assembly and was accountable to it for its work. Be assured that the SFRY Presidency will be consistent in carrying out its constitutional responsibilities.

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

The National Composition Is Not a Problem

One cannot dispute the SFRY Presidency's assessment that the demonstrations and revolt in Kosovo in the last few days have involved an attempt by separatists to forcefully bring down the legally elected Kosovo leadership. We are aware that 80 percent of this legal Kosovo leadership is made up of Albanians. The separatists' problem, therefore, is not the national composition of the Kosovo leadership but the fact that the leadership is Yugoslav oriented and, let us be frank, that it recognizes the Socialist Republic of Serbia and does not adhere to the idea and slogan of "Kosovo, republic." The aim, therefore, is to first of all take power in order to use it to go further in achieving their well-known separatist aims. (Borisav Jovic)

Terrorist Pressure

As regards talk of civil rights, everyone is able to see that all Yugoslav citizens, and even Albanians in our country, have the same civil and national rights. We are in fact working on increasing them. However, the problem is that under these conditions, these rights cannot be realized under pressure from Albanian nationalist and separatist activity.

Civil rights are undermined by terrorist pressure, but these are not only the rights of minorities in Kosovo, primarily the Serbs and Montenegrins, and those who have to migrate every day, but also the rights of the majority of Albanians themselves who are also fed up with the fear of violence. No one has the right to call the whole Albanian nationality separatist and nationalist. (Borisav Jovic)

Slovenia To Counteract Serbian Blockade

LD2202215390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—On the basis of available information, the Assembly of the Slovene Socialist Republic [SR] Executive Council at today's session assessed that the Serbian economic blockade of Slovenia is not being scaled down. Therefore, the republican executive council, in line with the authority granted to it by the Slovene SR Assembly at its last session,

concluded to protect Slovene economic interests by resolutely implementing concrete countermeasures, effective immediately.

The session statement asserts that "the Slovene SR will not discharge its reappraised obligations from last year toward the federal fund for insufficiently developed areas, which Kosovo should receive. Slovenia will not pay this year's advance payments in the federal fund for the insufficiently developed, which Kosovo should receive."

It is then stressed that Slovenia will settle all its obligations toward other insufficiently developed areas: Macedonia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Thus, the Slovene contribution to the fund for the insufficiently developed will be reduced by 48.1 percent. The Slovene contribution to the federal budget will be reduced by 15 percent, because Slovenia will not pay in the budget the sum intended for interventions in the economy of the SR of Serbia.

At the republican executive council session it was also decided that Slovenia would immediately cease paying its share for the solidarity-style covering of damage caused by bad weather and hail in 1987 in Vojvodina. Likewise, Slovenia's representatives will not sign the agreement on solidarity for the removal of the consequences of damage caused by floods in 1988 in Serbia.

The Slovene SR Assembly Executive Council today ordered the social accountancy service of the Slovene SR, in the event of the blockade of the republican budget which they might want to introduce as a result of the above measures, to act in keeping with the decision of the Slovene SR Assembly and not implement this blockade.

Dusan Sinigoj, president of Slovenia's Republican Executive Council, said among other things that in Serbia they did not proclaim the blockade of the Slovene economy because of the banning of the protest meeting of truth in Ljubljana on 1 December last year, but he assessed this as a strategy of the SR of Serbia vis-a-vis Slovenia and all of Yugoslavia. Of course, the blockade is a weapon used for a direct attack on the advocacy of the economic and political reforms in Yugoslavia, as well as on the overall efforts to find a way out of the economic and political crisis.

According to the statement from today's session of the republican executive council, "the fact that in Serbia they are linking the blockade to Slovenia's attitude toward Kosovo represents the most common political ultimatum to Slovenia to make it concur with the policy of repression being implemented in Kosovo. We Slovenes are simply not in favor of such a policy," Dusan Sinigoj stressed.

In a debate at the session, members of the Slovene government stressed among other things that those enterprises which incur damages should launch legal

proceedings to recover those damages. It is recommended to the prosecutor's office and the courts in Slovenia that these questions be given priority when they are considered. The Executive Council of the SR of Slovenia expects of the Federal Executive Council that it will also take measures within its competence, says the statement from today's Slovene SR Assembly Executive Council session.

Slovene LC Adopts Election Program

*AU1102171590 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
5 Feb 90 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "The Conference of the League of Communists of Slovenia Adopts Its Election Program"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 Feb—The Conference of the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia has adopted an election program which we are publishing almost in full.

The Party of Democratic Renewal [Stranka Demokratske Prenove] has emerged from the LC of Slovenia. It is not possible to overlook the fact that by its activities, the LC of Slovenia cocreated and encouraged the Slovene spring. We have become a party with a program:

For a European Quality of Life. We Pledge to the Voters:]

That our party's elected delegates will work in the assemblies of Slovenia and Yugoslavia for the implementation of this program. We strive for it with all our energy, knowledge, and honesty.

We promise to the voters: A New Slovene Constitution.

We are in favor of immediately framing a new, modern Slovene Constitution of which no European state would be ashamed. The Constitution will ensure democracy, security, protection of human rights and freedom, making life without fear possible. We will support the adoption of the Constitution through a general popular referendum.

The LC of Slovenia for a Confederal Slovenia

We will cocreate Yugoslavia only as a community of voluntarily linked and equal peoples on the basis of their right to self-determination and secession and their sovereignty on this basis; Yugoslavia as a modern, efficient confederation with a market economy, democracy, and all the basic rights and freedoms of man.

Respect for Multiparty Democracy

We will cooperate with all the parties in the parliament, the extraparlimentary parties, and other civil instigators of ideas that will contribute to the implementation of a common vision of a future Slovenia.

Honesty About the Past

We will not settle injustices by forgetting them. We wish financially and morally to correct the injustices done to people in the past.

Green Slovenia, Friendly to Humans

We will immediately accelerate the renewal of the Slovene economy so that it becomes a source of wealth, but in such a way that it will not injure the Slovene land. We will abolish the pollution of the soil, water, air, and other components of the human environment. Nuclear energy is not our choice.

Transformation of Work Organizations Into Enterprises That Are a Source of Well-being

We will rearrange the old industrial centers into regions of technological, intellectual, and cultural renewal. We will encourage economically efficient and economically aggressive programs so that Slovenia will be equally welcome in Europe as Europe will be needed in Slovenia.

Social Security for Workers and Pensioners

We are in favor of independent and influential trade unions. We will provide work for the unemployed and assistance when they are unemployed. We will ensure a creative and socially secure life for the pensioners.

Support and Reward for Good Husbandry

We are striving for an affluent society. The way to achieve this is through knowledge, entrepreneurship, creativity, and innovative spirit. The leaders in these processes will get our support and rewards appropriate to their success.

Support for the Development of Farms and the Countryside

We want to form a policy toward farming families and the countryside that will stimulate economic and social development. Good quality life in the countryside must accompany protection of cultural, architectural, and natural originality. We will reduce the differences in the opportunities for education and jobs in Slovenia.

Life Worthy of Man for Everybody

We will cocreate social and labor legislation that will promote social justice. We will protect the right to all differences among people that do not harm other people. We will preserve the rights that women have attained. We want to create favorable conditions for bearing children and for a happy childhood.

Army Made to Measure for Man and People

Europe needs fewer soldiers. We will demand a reduction of military service, the right of men from Slovenia to serve the Army in Slovenia, the use of Slovene in Slovene military schools and barracks, and the right to conscientious objection and to civilian instead of military service.

Slovenia Respected in the Society of Progressive, Democratic Countries

We will work for the affirmation of Slovenia as a successful and democratic state in the international sphere. We will join Europe, its organizations, and associations, such as Alps-Adriatic and the Community of European Regions, that will favor Slovenia as we wish it.

For us, only such an economy and politics make sense and are worth the effort that come from someone who wants to live and work in peace and freedom, in harmony with nature, in a healthy way, with equality, with social security, in love, in play, in happiness, and in beauty. This is the person of a European civilization of the 21st century. We will not gamble with the fate of the people and the nation. We will work thoughtfully and wisely.

Elections Postponed in Macedonia

*LD2202213190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 22 Feb 90*

[Excerpt] Skopje, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Delegates of all three chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Macedonia today, with one vote against, approved a constitutional law postponing the elections and all electoral activity until 28 April of next year, at the latest. This date was established as the latest possible one. Elections to the republican assembly, the municipal assembly, and the Skopje city assembly, as well as to the assemblies of self-managing communities of interest, are being postponed. In this way the mandates of the Presidency of the SR of Macedonia and the republican executive council have been extended.

The constitutional law and changes to the Constitution adopted at today's joint session of all the chambers of the Assembly of the SR of Macedonia will make it possible for the market economy to function and the federal government's program of economic stabilization to be implemented. There will also be an agreement on the state's economic functions, which will be reduced to intervention-style, antimonopoly, and social functions. The postponement of the elections and changes to the political system should facilitate implementing political and economic democracy, including free political organization and association.

This was stressed today, among other things, by Tito Belicanec, vice president of the republican executive council, in a report on the draft changes to the Constitution of the SR of Macedonia. [passage omitted: Space is opened up in this way for the expression of political pluralism; conditions for pluralist political life are being created for the first time in Macedonia]

Racan Explains Croat Election Program

*AU1402134390 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
12 Feb 90 p 1*

[Branko Tudjen report: "A New Program and Name"]

[Text] Zagreb—Ivica Racan, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Croatia, and Boris Malada, secretary of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia, had a long and interesting talk with journalists yesterday. This news conference was occasioned by the decisions of the closed session of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia which was held the day before and during most of the night. The current situation in the republic and the country as a whole was also discussed at the news conference.

Racan informed the journalists that the first and main point on the agenda of the Central Committee plenum was the endorsement of the proposal on the electoral political platform with which the party intends to win the confidence of voters at the upcoming Assembly elections in the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

The proposal for the electoral platform bears the title "The League of Communists of Croatia—Party of Democratic Changes," which leads to the conclusion that a change of name would be a logical step in the near future.

The Legalization of Different Views of the Program: The next essential change is the abandonment of democratic centralism and the recognition of the right for different views of the program to exist even after decisions have been made. Relations in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] will be determined on the basis of these principles. The proposal for the electoral platform also contains the message that the LC of Croatia will guarantee in its activities the full national equality of all citizens of Croatia.

Racan stressed that the internal organization is not at the forefront at the moment but that the LC of Croatia is resolute in abandoning the present forms of organization. The present forms will remain in force for another few months.

A Reduction in Membership Fees: The president of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia then informed the journalists of the decision to reduce the membership fee by 30 percent and the number of those employed in the party administration by one third. Speaking about the conclusions regarding relations in the LCY, Racan said that the stands taken at the last session of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia had been endorsed. We will participate in discussions and agreements in order to contribute to creating the minimum of unity as the basis for renewal and for the new LCY congress, stated Racan. All accusations that had been leveled at the LC of Croatia regarding the situation in the LC of Yugoslavia and Kosovo were indignantly rejected.

We do not want to participate only in the redistribution of the consequences. We also want to participate in formulating stands on how to resolve certain issues. As regards Pancevski's letter, we are adhering to our earlier stand. Everything that is incorrect and denigrating will not distance us or hamper us on the course we are taking, Racan concluded.

In reply to the first question from journalists on disagreements in certain communal committees with the policy of the LC of Croatia's leadership, Boris Malada said: We do not view disagreements according to the logic of the party that we are leaving.

Why do you not conduct a referendum throughout the communes in order to eliminate these supposed dilemmas over confidence in this leadership? This was the next question from journalists.

I do not think that the objective situation has gone this far. However, if this dilemma arises, we do not discount the possibility of a general communal referendum, explained Racan.

Another question was: Is there a difference in views between the LC of Croatia and the LC of Slovenia? Racan replied:

Yes, of course. We have a program of radical reforms and the democratic construction of society and it is not colored by nationality. We mean to accommodate the interests of the Croatian people in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Serbs in Croatia, and others who live here through radical reforms. We will respond to the questions of national equality with development.

The numerous questions also included one about his supposed meeting and talk with Dr. Hrvoje Susic.

No talks or negotiations were carried out in the way that has been stated. Otherwise, our orientation is to talk with those with whom we are not in agreement over many things because this is in the spirit of democracy. Casual conversations should not be manipulated.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Only In One Party

1. In the opinion of the LC of Croatia, it goes without saying that under conditions of multiparty political life, it is not possible to be a member of several parties at the same time.

2. We Communists of the Socialist Republic of Croatia do not want to artificially divide people who have similar political convictions. However, in every community and situation where membership of the Alliance of Socialists of Croatia demands that members of the LC of Croatia take an orientation, we expect them to remain members of the LC of Croatia—party of democratic changes. [sentence as published]

3. The electoral program of the LC of Croatia is open to cooperation and togetherness. Therefore, we call on all our members, activists and sympathizers, and all people committed to a democratic society, a society of prosperity, security, and peace, to join us.

4. Victory at the upcoming elections will thus be a joint victory. It will create the opportunity for us to achieve our aims.

We will thus demonstrate in action that we have sincere, honest, and serious intentions.

Elections Called for in Croatian Assembly

LD2202183590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Zagreb, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Dr Andjelko Runjic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia, decided today to call elections for representatives in the Assembly of the SR of Croatia.

Citizens with the universal right to vote will elect representatives to the Chamber of Municipalities and the Sociopolitical Chamber in the designated constituencies of the republic in direct, general, and secret elections on 22 April this year.

Workers in self-managing organizations and communities, as well as small businessmen and their employees, will elect representatives to the Chamber of Associated Labor in secret elections in the designated election units on Monday, 23 April.

By the order of the president of the Assembly of the SR of Croatia, the election campaign will begin on Saturday, 24 February 1990.

Serbian Democratic Party Formed in Croatia

LD1702230690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Knin, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—In Knin, outside the railway station, the Serbian Democratic Party was formed today in the presence of several thousand citizens from Knin and neighbouring municipalities.

According to the initial plans, the party has to become a branch of the democratic party from Belgrade, but it was explained that since "the democrats" from Belgrade have opposed the Serbian leadership, the members of the Initiative Committee have decided that the party in Knin should be autonomous and independent from the one in Belgrade. [passage omitted]

Serbs in Croatia Demand Own Province

AU2002140390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
19 Feb 90 p 4

[Z. Krzelj report: "They Are Demanding a Province in Croatia"]

[Excerpts] Knin—The Square of Brotherhood and Unity—filled with several thousand citizens and decorated with the pictures of St. Sava, Prince Lazar, King Petar Karadjordjevic, Njegos, and Vuk Karadzic, as well as with the flags depicting four letters "s" and the flags of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and Yugoslavia—was the place where the Serbian Democratic Party was founded last Saturday.

The Founding Assembly elected 22 people as members of the Main Committee. The citizens of Knin and the neighboring communes in Lika, Dalmatia, and Bosnia adopted by acclamation the statute, program, and resolutions of the Serbian Democratic Party on Kosovo.

Academician Dr. Jovan Raskovic was elected head of the Main Committee, whose headquarters will be in Knin, with branches throughout Yugoslavia.

Opening the founding assembly, Jovan Raskovic explained the reasons behind the decision of the Serbs in Croatia to found a national political party whose door will be open to all those who accept its program.

"At a time when Yugoslavia is pounded by a wave of hatred and paranoia, we need democracy as a guarantee of freedom and justice more than ever before. The Serbian people also need it. The Serbian Democratic Party will try to preserve the Serbian people's mythical spirit to the extent that it will not hinder its people, will face reality, and will behave rationally according to the established principles of modern politics and modern political organizing," Raskovic said.

Jovan Opacic, president of the "Zora" Serbian Cultural Society, presented the program tasks of the Serbian Democratic Party. He said that the Serbian Democratic Party will strive for more democracy in society, and that in the immediate future it will concentrate its activities on preparing for the next elections. According to Opacic, the Serbian Democratic Party will fight for the equal status of Croatian Serbs in a united federal Yugoslav community. At the founding assembly, the demand for the constitutional definition of the right of Serbs to form an autonomous province in Croatia, if the people decide so at a referendum, was also raised.

The crowd attending the founding assembly of the Serbian Democratic Party was also addressed by Kosta Civoski who spoke on behalf of the Belgrade Democratic

Party. According to him, the basic question concerning our community is the national question, and thus the obligation to ensure the complete national and cultural identity of all those who live outside their kin states. [passage omitted]

The people gathered at the founding assembly accepted by acclamation the resolution of the Serbian Democratic Party on Kosovo. The resolution states, among other things, the following:

"Although we deeply sympathize with the families of those who were killed during unrest and clashes in Kosovo, we cannot but support the right of the Yugoslav and Serbian states to fight for their legitimate integrity. As a democratic party, we favor talks on the position of all peoples and nationalities in Kosovo and will vote in favor of every kind of discussion in Kosovo. Finally, we must stress that we are in favor of democratic talks on an equal footing with all democrats, but that we are also aware of the fact that it is difficult to hold talks with armed democrats."

Tempestuous rounds of applause, chanting to Slobodan Milosevic, and shouts of "down with traitors," and "Racan's methods will not be accepted here," (which were heard whenever somebody mentioned the League of Communists of Croatia and Slovenia's and Croatia's attitudes toward Kosovo), illustrate that last Saturday there was quite a lot of unity in the Square of Brotherhood and Unity, while brotherhood is yet to be discussed in the days to come.

Croatian Opposition Party To Boycott Elections

LD2501191490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1821 GMT
25 Jan 90

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 25 (TANJUG)—A spokesman for the Croatian Peasants' Party (HSS), one of several opposition parties in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, stated today that his party would boycott the republic's April parliamentary elections, which, he said, still lacked conditions to be genuinely free and democratic.

The HSS vice-president Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, speaking at a news conference here today, gave no arguments for his statement.

Croatia and Slovenia will have their first free parliamentary elections this spring, while the other parts of Yugoslavia have accepted a multi-party system in principle at the time being.

The HSS spokesman said his party, 3,000 strong, would follow the policy of the party that existed under the same name before World War II. Part of the HSS leadership, towards the beginning of the World War II, had supported the creation of a quisling puppet "independent state of Croatia" and had cooperated with the invaders.

Cicak said that the HSS would not run its own candidates for the elections but would back up the running of independent candidate Savka Dabcevic-Kucar as president of the republic's presidency. Dabcevic-Kucar, one-time president of the Croatian League of Communists, was [word indistinct] in the early 1970s as one of the leaders of the massive nationalist movement in Croatia.

The HSS insists on the dropping of all socialist markings from Croatia's state symbols.